THE

LABOUR MONTHLY

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Editor: R. PALME DUTT

Volume 16 July, 1934 Number 7

Principal Contents

The Anti-Fascist Front
R.P.D.

The Meaning of the Sedition Bill
BARRISTER-AT-LAW

The "New Deal" Swindle
HARRY GANNES

Marxism in Caricature
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CONTENTS

Notes of the Month - - - - - - - Page 387
THE ANTI-FASCIST FRONT
By R. P. D.

The Meaning of the Sedition Bill - - - - „ 403
By BARRISTER-AT-LAW

The Hays Wharf Strike - - - - - - „ 413
By JOHN A. MAHON

The "New Deal" Swindle - - - - - „ 418
By HARRY GANNES

Japanese Imperialism and the Open Door in China „ 428
By YU-SUN

"Marxism" in Caricature - - - - - - „ 432
By R.P.D.

Book Reviews - - - - - - - - 440
R.P.D. on Fascism and Social Revolution - - - *By* George Allison
Two Views of Roosevelt - - *By* John Strachey
World Communists in Session - *By* B.W.

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QUESTIONNAIRE
ON
WAR

ON the 20th Anniversary of the outbreak of war in 1914 *the world is filled with talk of new wars; to many the prospect is of* **war within five years.** *The growth of fascism and economic nationalism is taken by many as a portent of wars to come.*

Such a situation demands **every kind of activity** *and* **mobilisation** *of opinion. The* LABOUR MONTHLY *therefore having in mind the lessons of the last war, invites you to write in your replies to the questions set out on the attached sheet.*

It is intended to publish these replies in the August issue. For this to be done it will be necessary to send in your replies by **July 7th at the very latest.**

[*If some readers find it impossible to reply in time the* LABOUR MONTHLY *would nevertheless welcome replies received later in order that they may be considered for publication in subsequent issues.*]

QUESTIONS.

(1) **Do you think war can be prevented within the conditions of capitalism or imperialism?**

(2) **In the event of war involving Britain, what would you do or recommend others to do?***

(3) **Do you support the peace policy of the Soviet Union? In the event of imperialist war on the Soviet Union, what would be your attitude?**

(4) **What is your attitude towards a war of a colonial people for liberation from British Imperialism?**

(5) **What is your opinion of the possibility or desirability of general strike action against war.**

(6) **What can be done now to fight war? Is a United Front of all sections of the working-class movement, irrespective of political affiliations, possible now to fight war, and if so, what should be its main tasks?**

* It would be interesting in answering this question also to define your attitude towards the statement of Mr. John Bromley, Secretary of the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, that he "could conceive of circumstances when it would be to the interests of British trade unionism willingly to help our country in case of war."

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NOTES OF THE MONTH

Fascism and Anti-Fascism—The Critical Stage—Constitutional Illusions—National Government and Fascism—Workers' Rising Resistance—The Outcry of the Bourgeoisie—Fascism as the Irregular Army of the Bourgeoisie—The Fascist Trinity—The Black Hundreds' Army—Olympia —Gilmour's Apologia—Rôle of Police—Rôle of Magistracy—After Olympia—Bourgeois Panic—New Laws against Workers— "Freedom of Speech"—Labour Party's Rôle—"Non-Resistance"—Organise the Anti-Fascist Front

THE struggle in Britain between the working class and Fascism, supported and protected by the State, has entered into a new and sharper stage since the events at Olympia on June 7. Despite all the prophecies to the contrary, the course of the development of Fascism in Britain shows obvious similarities to the other countries in Europe ; the myth of the imagined immunity of Britain from such disorders is following the fate of the other myths of the long vanished British isolation. In view of this situation it is urgent that all should face with open eyes the issues involved. It is of life-and-death importance for the entire working class movement to understand from the outset, without illusions, the character of the fight now opening, which will be decisive for the whole future in Britain. *Either the working-class movement will destroy Fascism and its violence, or Fascism will destroy the working-class movement.* Between these two alternatives there is no halfway house. This is no welcome truth to those who still cling to the dwindling island of "democratic" illusions of the "impartiality" of the State and of classless "law and order." But realities cannot be conjured out of existence, merely because they are unwelcome. The advance, on the one hand, of British capitalism to increasingly Fascist forms (of which

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the open organisation of a Blackshirt Army and its black-guardism is only one of the expressions and symptoms), and the resistance, on the other, of the working class to fight such advance, are realities which are considerably stronger than legal forms or constitutional illusions.

LET there be no mistake. It is the existence of the working-class movement that is at stake. The gangsterism which has begun its exploits on the bodies of questioners and interrupters at a meeting, will rapidly, as in other countries, extend its operations to wider and wider fields, if it is not resisted. Such resistance will never come, save in form and pretence, from the State, legal and police authorities ; for these are in fact bound up with the whole advancing attack upon the workers. If the workers let themselves be weakened in their resistance ; if they let themselves be confused by the present cloud of Conservatives' and National Government Ministers' protestations " deprecating " the Fascist violence which they have in fact permitted and protected, and of which their present protestations are only the verbal smokescreen ; if they let themselves be led astray by the Labour Party line of " Trust the Police," " Freedom for Fascism," " No United Front " : this will mean the destruction and enslavement of the working class as surely as the same line led to the victory of Hitler in Germany. The fight against Fascism is not a mere political discussion against verbal and ideological adversaries ; it is at the same time a fight against a movement of organised violence whose avowed object is physically to destroy the working-class movement. In this fight there can be no compromise. The examples of Germany and Italy should have taught this lesson. *Fascism must be, and can be, defeated in its early stages by the power of the mass movement, and in no other way.*

THE greatest danger confronting the anti-Fascist fight is the constitutional illusion. Under cover of the constitutional illusion Fascism grew to power in Germany and Italy. The workers were told by the bourgeois and reformist leaders to place their trust in the state and in the police ; and meanwhile

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the state and the police were in fact, as a host of official and semi-official evidence and testimony of independent witnesses has since revealed, actively engaged in assisting and promoting the growth of the Fascist forces, and acting only against the working-class defence. The cry for strengthening the powers of the State and the police, for the Law for the Defence of the Republic, for emergency powers, resulted only in these powers being used, not against Fascism, but against the working class. The Storm Troops were left free, while the workers' Red Front was suppressed. *The same process has begun in Britain.* The bourgeois state authorities have permitted Fascism to form and equip its private armies unmolested, and to exercise their violence without let or hindrance from the partisans of "law and order." When the workers have demonstrated their protest, the result has been a display of gangsterism which has aroused a shocked outcry from widespread strata of the population. But this outcry is being immediately used to rush through measures, not to suppress Fascism and its private armies, but to suppress the anti-Fascist opposition, to strengthen police powers against interrupters at meetings, that is, against the workers. Thus the classic process of Fascism goes forward in Britain on exactly parallel lines to the development in Germany and Italy.

IT is vital to learn the lesson from these countries and to see the real character of the fight against Fascism. It is a very narrow view which sees only the gangsterism that has aroused so widespread an outcry, and does not see where the *real responsibility* lies—with the National Government, with the state, police, legal and judicial authorities, which have protected the growth of Fascism at every stage, and with the leaders of finance-capital, who have fostered, subsidised and built up the growth of the Blackshirts, just as Czarism built up the Black Hundreds. *To see the rabble of the Black Hundreds and not to see Czarism*—this is the cardinal error of all the "respectable" people who are raising such a verbal outcry to "deplore" the excesses of Fascism (as if Fascism could exist without "excesses"!), and calling at once for strengthened

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police powers as the solution, without seeing that they are thereby calling for the strengthening of the enemy, for the strengthening of Fascism, without seeing that the real criminal is " respectable society " itself, which breeds and fosters the rats and vermin for its protection, that the real enemies are MacDonald, Baldwin, Rothermere and Deterding, and not merely their tools. This is the heart of the situation which governs the line of the fight against Fascism.

THE mass of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie have witnessed with growing amazement the toleration and protection of the Government and high authorities for Fascism. They have seen how the bourgeois state authorities have resisted every proposal to check or interfere with the private armies of Fascism. They have before their eyes the example of what the unchecked growth of Fascism has led to in Germany and Italy, in despotism and terror and the suppression of every right of political expression and organisation. In spite of the century-old training in legalism and " democratic " illusions, the actions of the bourgeois state authorities are to-day teaching them the lesson, are driving home to the blindest, that *they have no other course save to take their defence in their own hands.* In the face of all the present experience, in the face of the lessons of Germany and Austria and Italy, in the face of what is now developing in Britain, the working masses are revealing *a rising anger and indignation and determination by every means to prevent the growth of Fascism in Britain.* And they are a hundred times right in their determination. The anti-fascist counter-demonstration at Olympia has shown the true path of the fight against Fascism. The anti-fascist demonstrators, by their courage and at the cost of their own bodies, have opened the eyes of millions to the real character of Fascism. It is solely thanks to their stand that the present universal outcry against Fascism has developed, where before there was silence or indifference or amused toleration (" Laugh, and Fascism Will Die," as the *Daily Herald* said). But let none mistake the outcry for the fight. The anti-fascist demonstrators at Olympia have shown the united front in action, and

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have laid the foundations for a broad Anti-Fascist Front throughout Britain, which can sweep Fascism out of existence.

TO-DAY the rising anger and strength of active resistance of the working class has startled the bourgeoisie. Hence the sudden outburst of noisy protestations of all the respectable bigwigs and Government Ministers who themselves bear the heaviest responsibility and have laughed out of court every proposal to check the private armies of Fascism. *Not the Fascist violence, but the resistance of the working class has thrown them into alarm.* The workers will do well not to let themselves be lulled by all these vociferous protestations of all the "respectable" people—which have at all times and in all countries accompanied, but never checked, the growth of Fascist violence. They will do well to watch the actions of these gentlemen rather than their words. For the "solution" proposed by them, one and all, Conservative and Labour alike, is—to extend the powers of the police. What does this mean? The situation was that the violence of the police outside Olympia *accompanied* the violence of the Fascists inside Olympia, but never checked the violence of the Fascists. The difficulty was not that the police lacked powers; the difficulty was that the police only exercised their powers against, and only arrested, the workers and anti-Fascists who were trying to protect themselves, and never the Fascists who were making the attack. The grand "solution" proposed for this difficulty is to increase the powers of the police, that is, to strengthen Fascism.

IT is essential for the workers to see clearly the character and strategy of the enemy they have to fight. For the enemy is not merely the Blackshirts; the workers could easily deal with these, despite all their weapons, if it were only a question of these. The problem only arises because the Blackshirts are assisted and protected by the forces of the State, both police and judicial. This is the heart of the problem. The Blackshirt army is in effect a kind of *auxiliary irregular force* of the State—something like the Black and Tans, but with no formal official character—which can on the one hand be used, under the protection of the regular forces, for rough

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work not suitable for the regular forces, and can on the other hand be disavowed as often as necessary. Open Fascism is in reality an *unofficial Department of the capitalist state machine*, which is itself preparing the conditions of Fascism in every field. The central enemy is still the National Government, which simultaneously assists and protects the Fascists to organise their forces of violence, at the same time as in public it disavows them.

IN short, the disposition of the enemy the workers have to fight can be expressed diagrammatically in a threefold scheme. In the centre is the National Government, the state machine and the police forces, which provide the main basis of the dictatorship and of the offensive against the workers. On one wing of these are the open forces of Fascism, whose rôle at present is to carry out the advance skirmishing and guerilla warfare. On the other wing are the forces of Social Fascism, of the Labour Party leadership, whose rôle is to break up the resistance of the workers by preaching passivity, freedom for Mosley, trust in the Government, increase of police powers, &c. Only when this threefold front of the enemy is clearly seen can the anti-fascist fight be successfully fought.

THIS is the disposition of forces which was powerfully exposed to all by the events at Olympia. Let us note first the flagrant rôle of the police and state authorities in relation to the open forces of Fascism. The Blackshirt army, whose bullying exploits at Olympia shocked observers and witnesses from all strata of the population, did not spring from the sky overnight. It had been continuously organised for close on two years. Yet the Government and police authorities, who had full knowledge of its development, who could have checked it at any time if they had wished, permitted it to be organised without interference. *Is it for a moment conceivable that if a similar working-class force had been organised, with uniforms, with barracks, with semi-military training, manoeuvres and marching in formation, and with open preparation for violence, it would have been thus left unmolested?* Yet the Government resisted every attempt to interfere with its growth, and thus

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constituted itself the patron-protector of Fascism, just as on the international field it constituted itself the patron-protector of German Fascist re-armament. When the question was raised in the debate in the House of Lords on February 27, the Government spokesman, Lord Faversham, replied that in the opinion of the Government

> It was unnecessary for any great action to be taken to restrict such parties.

When on May 16 the resolution proposing a ban on political uniforms, as in a number of other countries, was introduced, it found no supporter in any section, and did not even reach a division.

> The whole debate was good-humoured, great laughter having been aroused by a previous question concerning alleged rioting. (*Times*, May 17, 1934.)

Within three weeks of that debate the character of the Blackshirt army was to be further demonstrated, including to many of the " good-humoured " legislators, and the " great laughter " began to give place to a considerable dismay at the rising anger and resistance of the working class.

THE rôle of the police at Olympia was only the continuation of this policy. " On no account to interfere with the Blackshirts "—this, according to the statement of a constable reported by a correspondent in the *New Statesman and Nation* (June 16, 1934), was the instruction officially issued to the men on duty. The account may be quoted for the light thrown by this eye-witness on the rôle of the police :

> I was walking down Blythe Road to the south of Olympia, where police were standing shoulder to shoulder across the closed gates of the exit. The gates were opened, and the spectators on the opposite side of the road could see inside one man being viciously beaten and kicked by a dozen or more Blackshirts. Presently the victim was hurled out of the gate in a semi-conscious condition, his face almost pulp and a large gash in his neck. He staggered across the road, and as he did so the police obligingly closed the iron gates. A number of the spectators rushed across to the police and asked why they did not make an arrest for this aggravated assault. The police told us to keep quiet. We offered our services in the appropriation of the perpetrators—as by law

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> good citizens, witnesses of the commission of a crime, are obliged to do. We called upon the police to do their duty, and were threatened with arrest. Shortly after, mounted police drove us back to the other side of the road, the injured man being half-carried, half-dragged from the horses' feet by a few spectators. What makes the whole proceedings tragically absurd was that one of our number, a young man, was arrested and subsequently charged and fined for " obstructing the police in the execution of their duty."
>
> Later in the evening, during conversation with police officers at a local station, the arrested man was informed by one constable that they had received instructions, " on no account to interfere with the Blackshirts." (Richard Jefferies in the *New Statesman and Nation*, June 16, 1934.)

THE Home Secretary, Gilmour, has subsequently stated that the police were powerless to prevent the Black Hundreds' brutality (and therefore, no doubt, compelled as an alternative to arrest their anti-fascist victims and any members of the public who protested), on the grounds that by a ruling of a Departmental Committee of 1909 the police have no power to intervene unless " by leave of the promoters of the meeting or when they have reason to believe that a breach of the peace is being committed." By this little sleight-of-hand the agitation against Fascist brutality is neatly turned by the Home Secretary into a proposal to increase the powers of the police over working-class meetings and against working-class interrupters at meetings. The hypocrisy of this " explanation " of the rôle of the police is glaring. The uniformed police outside could witness plenty of bloody and semi-conscious bodies being flung out by the Fascists ; the uniformed police in the precincts were witnesses of the beating up outside the hall ; the plainclothes men in the hall could see the rest. Yet they had " no reason to believe that a breach of the peace was being committed." No doubt, if a corpse had been flung out of a window, it would have still appeared an obscure and knotty point to the police whether this might not have been due to natural causes. Such is the subtle argumentation presented by a conservative Home Secretary to a docile House of Commons to cover up the glaringly obvious relations of the

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police and Fascism. Once again, is it conceivable for a moment that, if a workers' meeting has been engaged in beating up in this way a set of Conservative Members of Parliament, the police would have found such insurmountable technical difficulties preventing them from intervening, or a Conservative Home Secretary would have been at pains to hunt up such transparently inapplicable administrative quibbles to justify their rôle ?

HOWEVER, the police were not inactive. They arrested twenty-three anti-fascists and members of the public who protested against the Fascist brutality, but not a single Fascist. With regard to this point, the Home Secretary stated : " I am not aware whether those taken up by the police were Fascists or not." It is evident that this was pure chance, or rather, a mathematically very striking series of twenty-three pure chances, that all those arrested were anti-fascists or non-partisan members of the public, and never Fascists. However, more light is thrown on these arrests by the statements of the men arrested, as in the case already quoted above of the man who protested at police inaction in front of Fascist brutality and was promptly arrested. For the essential fact of Olympia was that it was a case of *combined* violence of the police and Fascism, *a division of labour*, with the Fascists operating inside the hall and the police outside. On this the evidence of all the independent witnesses is agreed. With regard to inside the hall, we have the statement of G. Barry on the wireless, that " not in any case did the violence originate with the members of the audience." For outside, we have the statement of Lord Berners and his friend, C. V. Jackson, the physicist, who, innocently in search of their car, found themselves unexpected victims of the police. Lord Berners stated in the court : " The crowd were not rioting. They were singing a very dreary song which he believed was called the ' Internationale.' " In the midst of this crowd, to whose non-violent behaviour he thus testified, Lord Berners found himself set upon by the police and " knocked down and crushed up against the railings " by them. " A policeman said ' get out '

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and hit me over the head with some sort of weapon like a sword." His friend, Jackson, protested, and immediately found himself under arrest: "To my horror I was taken to the police station. I was amazed when the police started hitting me and digging me in the ribs with sticks." It is a fortunate accident by which these two highly surprised bourgeois were thus turned into valuable historical witnesses of the rôle of the police as the allies of Fascist violence against the workers. It is not to be wondered at that the Home Secretary was above all insistent that "no inquiry" should take place. "A public inquiry was unnecessary and undesirable." (Gilmour in the House of Commons, June 14.)

NO less important is the rôle of the magistracy revealed by the whole episode. According to the Conservative Member of Parliament, R. T. Bower, in the *Times* (June 12, 1934), repeating the general line of the law textbooks:

> As the law stands, it is the duty of any member of the public to arrest at once any one who in his presence commits a treason or felony or dangerous wounding; he may use all force that is necessary to prevent the crime or to prevent the offender from escaping; he may also arrest any one who is on the point of committing such an offence if such arrest is necessary to prevent the crime from being committed. He may also arrest any one committing a breach of the peace in his presence.

Such was the bourgeois law before Fascism. Now, however, as already seen in the case quoted above (letter of R. Jefferies), members of the public who protested to the police at their inaction in the face of Fascist violence were arrested and sentenced. Another member of the public who stated that he intervened to protect a victim of Fascist violence was also arrested and sentenced. The magistrate did not question the facts. But he laid down the law as follows:

> It may be that altogether excessive and indefensible violence was used in ejecting people from Olympia. I do not know. It may well be that you may have witnessed something that aroused your sympathy and your indignation. But you should know that it is quite impossible to allow individuals to take the law into their own hands.

The bourgeois law, it will be seen, is highly pliable to suit the purpose of Fascism.

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WHAT follows Olympia? There is a considerable outcry at the unlimited Black Hundreds' brutality revealed. Many disinterested witnesses are sincerely shocked and give evidence. Immediately the leader of the Black Hundreds, Mosley, is given full facilities on the governmental broadcasting monopoly; no Communist, representative of the counter-demonstration or of the victims is given facilities. The Government expresses its concern at what has taken place, its anxiety that there should be no inquiry, and its determination to take all necessary measures to deal in future with interrupters at Fascist meetings. The other parties concur in these excellent intentions, and promise their co-operation in drawing up the new legislation. Thus the public outcry against Fascist brutality and the connivance of the Government and police with Fascism is skilfully turned by the Government, with the complaisant aid of the Labour Party, into an agitation against working-class interrupters at meetings and to increase the powers of the Government and police. Well might MacDonald, Baldwin and Gilmour rub their hands over a successful day's work. The public indignation against Fascism is adroitly utilised to assist the advance to Fascism.

THE real meaning of the bourgeois drive after Olympia is thus rapidly laid bare. On the one hand, the outcry of leading members of the bourgeoisie and of some Government Ministers undoubtedly represented a real alarm at the rising anger and resistance of the workers, a fear that the too extreme and reckless terrorism of the Fascist gangsters might provoke a wave of mass resistance of the working class, and a consequent anxious sense of the necessity, not to suppress Fascism, but at any rate temporarily to moderate Fascism. Thus the Conservative, Anstruther-Gray, put the question in Parliament

> whether, in view of the fact that unnecessary violence, such as that shown by persons wearing political uniforms at Olympia on June 7, *will inevitably provoke retaliation*, the Government will give an early date for the discussion of measures to avert this menace to public order and political goodwill.

The same fear is expressed in the *Daily Telegraph* editorial on June 12:

> Violence inside a meeting leads straight to *reprisals* without. Fascism actually begets the Communism which it is ostensibly

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> designed to overthrow. At this moment Sir Oswald Mosley is easily the best recruiting sergeant for the Communist Party.

Here speaks the fear of the moderate bourgeoisie at the two-edged sword of Fascism: let us, they say in effect, beware of provoking too soon by "unnecessary violence" this patient, hitherto peaceful, beast of burden, the British working class, on whose backs we ride, lest we rouse its anger and it overthrow us; when the time comes that it becomes at last necessary to establish a Fascist dictatorship as the last resort, let it be done with careful preparation and in due form.

> If during the next few years Parliament has to shut up shop for a short time, a temporary Dictator here will act in the King's name with the King's forces. (*Observer*, June 10, 1934.)

ON the other hand, as the necessary complement to this, the *political aim* resultant from the fear of the rising anger and resistance of the working class, is to increase the powers of the Government and police against the working class, that is, to carry in reality a stage further the advance to Fascism. The occasion of the Olympia episode is utilised to rush through "with the agreement of all parties" (including consultation of the Government with Mosley, whose relations to the Government may be compared with the relations of "First Murderer" to a Shakespearian King), a measure for the police control of all meetings—fit pendant to the Sedition Bill. The former democratic right of meetings to be free from the presence and control of the uniformed police is to be suspended, and in its place is to be established the old Kaiser or Austrian system. And this—crowning irony—is to be done in the name of "freedom of speech."

HOW is this amazing inversion of all logic and common sense achieved that, in the name of "freedom of speech," the right of public meeting is to be suspended and subjected henceforth to direct police control? It follows automatically from the peculiar bourgeois theory of what they mean by "freedom of speech." By "freedom of speech" they mean that the workers must listen like docile, obedient sheep in regimented silence whenever a noble, respected

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bourgeois chooses to get on his hindlegs to air his caste-theories and generally put them in their place. The workers, however, being human, have a different conception of " freedom of speech.' They actually mean " freedom of *their* speech." If they go to a meeting, they wish to express their view, and if their view is strong, the expression may not be parliamentary. Still more, if the speaker happens to be of the persuasion of those who are proposing to gag and bludgeon the workers into slavery with wholesale murders and atrocities, as in Germany or Italy, it is not surprising if the workers consider that such have not any right to " freedom of speech." Certainly, if the German workers can once get Hitler in their power, they will soon make an end of his " freedom of speech," however much the Social Democratic leaders may plead for him ; on the other hand, they will give plenty of " freedom of speech " to Thaelmann. All this is no doubt profoundly shocking to the fair-minded British bourgeoisie, fresh from bludgeoning all pretence of " freedom of speech " in India and the colonies. If, however, they could temporarily by a miracle get outside their own skins of their own select minority, for whom alone they in reality demand " freedom of speech," they might begin to understand the matter in this way. When a worker gets up in a workers' meeting aand begins to say things that seem to him and his audience eminently plain, fair and reasonable, but appear to the bourgeoisie execrable, outrageous and, in short, " seditious," the bourgeoisie have a very short way of making an end of his " freedom of speech "—witness the present cases in which leaders of the workers are at present under trial for having advocated alleged revolutionary doctrines at an obscure little meeting in South Wales, and are threatened with prison for it. But when a bourgeois gets up and begins to say things that appear to the workers, including his audience, even more execrable and outrageous, the workers have no such handy weapon (at present) for dealing with him ; they have only their own voices to express their view. And now the bourgeoisie wants to take even these away from them—in the name of " freedom of speech." But the highly freedom-loving present-day bourgeoisie must not be surprised if the workers are inclined

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to receive their plea with angry contempt, when a Government which is engaged in pressing through the Sedition Bill dares to speak of "freedom of speech."

THE most despicable rôle in this whole process is that of the Labour Party chiefs. With one accord they have leapt to the service of the bourgeoisie on this issue, in the name of the slogan of "freedom of speech" (for Mosley!), denounced the Communists and militant workers who dared to interrupt the sacred Mosley, and declared their readiness to "co-operate" with the National Government in extending police powers and framing the new police regulations of meetings. The National Joint Council officials' statement anxiously inquires "whether police powers are sufficient" or "whether further legislation is required to safeguard freedom of speech," and "repudiates entirely every form of organised interruption at public meetings." When even the bourgeois press and spokesmen found themselves compelled to denounce the atrocities of the Fascists, the Labour M.P., F. R. West, came forward to blame the Communists: "The Communists by smashing Blackshirt meetings are as usual aiding the Fascists. We, of the Labour Party, do not fear the effect of Mosley's speeches. In any event let him be heard." Hamilton Fyfe, former editor of the *Daily Herald*, writes to the *Times* to attack the "organised interrupters," "bands of young men, mostly Jews," "they got what they wanted." The *Daily Herald* reports the Labour Party co-operation with the National Government (June 15, 1934):

> It is understood that Party leaders will be prepared to take part in the All-Party Conference suggested by the Home Secretary in order that when the Bill is brought on to the floor of the House it may go through as an agreed measure.

The *Times* maliciously comments:

> It is understood that the Labour Party will also agree, provided that the final responsibility for introducing the necessary legislation remains with the Government of the day. Some of the more moderate Labour members have suffered heavily at the hands of the Communist wing, and they will welcome the chance of an orderly meeting quite as much as members of the other parties.

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Keir Hardie would have no doubt looked forward to the glorious day when Labour Party members would be taken under the wing of a Conservative Government and its police to be secured an "orderly" hearing from the workers. The rôle of Social Fascism is the necessary complement to the rôle of the National Government, of the police and judiciary, and of open Fascism, laid bare by the Olympia episode and the following intensified drive against the workers.

THE line of Social Fascism means in fact for the workers the line of passive defeatism and of the victory of Fascism. Be passive, the Labour Party leaders preach to the workers; beware of the united front; stay at home like wise men; do not get beaten up; let Mosley carry on his meetings and provocations and organise his armies and go step by step along the path of Mussolini and Hitler without resistance; for us is reserved the nobler rôle of German Social Democracy, to hold back the workers to the last, and then quietly to pass out or pass over without a struggle. But in view of the outcome of this line in Germany and elsewhere the Labour Party leaders must not be surprised if the workers are little inclined to listen to these counsels of non-resistance, and may prefer to reply to the Labour Party leaders: "Most noble Gandhi-Lansbury and Gandhi-Henderson and Gandhi-Morrison, apostles of non-resistance, why not first set the example of non-resistance in India instead of bludgeoning every meeting of five persons with lathis and imprisoning sixty thousand for daring to ask for democratic freedom? For ourselves, we have observed where the line of Gandhi has led the great mass-movement under his control in India, to the lowest depths of unconditional capitulation, impotence and degradation; and we have no wish to repeat this path here for the benefit of Fascism. On the contrary, we shall fight with all our power already to-day, before Fascism is strong, while we have still hands and heads and hearts to fight with, before we are all locked up or otherwise disposed of by Fascism; and we shall call with the utmost urgency every working man and woman and boy and girl to the common struggle, every little clerk and shopkeeper, every

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student and intellectual, and even every gentleman who is not yet utterly corrupt and has a spark of honour left, to help to build the great common anti-fascist front of mass struggle, which shall wipe out the poisonous canker of Fascism in Britain while there is yet time, and help our comrades abroad to overthrow it equally."

TO organise the Anti-Fascist Front—this is now the urgent task in Britain. The initiative achieved by the counter-demonstration at Olympia must be followed up. The moment is ripe. The widest sympathy among all strata of the population against Fascism has been won. It is essential now to *organise* this sympathy into practical form. The masses are ready, are showing their readiness all over the country, despite all the alliance of Fascism and the police, and despite the bans of the Labour Party leaders. Just this readiness of the British and French workers to throw themselves into active struggle, to learn the lessons from other countries, to build up the united front in action, is the most hopeful sign for the future, that Fascism need not conquer in Britain and France, that the tide will turn in these countries, at the same time as the mighty anti-fascist movement in Germany under the leadership of the Communist Party is rising in strength and mass-support and already beginning visibly to shake the foundations of the power of Hitler. The present conditions offer high hopes ; but leadership and organisation is now essential. The Communist Party has put forward its proposals for the formation of the Anti-Fascist Front ; these should now be seriously considered by every working-class organisation and by the whole working class. The Anti-Fascist Front should have the widest character, dominantly proletarian, but embracing also students, intellectuals and petit-bourgeois anti-fascists. Its platform requires simplicity and wide appeal, yet definition clearly of the mass-struggle character of the fight. The menace of Fascism is serious ; but Fascism can be defeated, if action is taken in time.

R.P.D.

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THE MEANING OF THE SEDITION BILL

By BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

REASONS have been given both within and without Parliament for the introduction of the new Incitement to Disaffection Bill and to justify its passage on to the Statue Book. The Bill's apologists, official and otherwise, have all overlooked one fact which completely exposes the falsity of their " reasons." The truth is that no English Government has ever found difficulty in disposing of its working-class opponents within the existing law. The law of sedition is conveniently wide, so that for a prosecution to miscarry is a rare occurrence. As far as working-class propaganda in the armed forces is concerned the terms of the old Incitement to Mutiny Act are sufficiently wide to enable the Government to inflict long terms of imprisonment upon those responsible directly or indirectly for the spreading of revolutionary ideas amongst soldiers and sailors. What the sedition and incitement to mutiny laws cannot conveniently cover is dealt with under the Common law of riot, unlawful assembly, or breach of the peace, or under Statutes both old, like the Statute of Edward III. (Tom Mann and Emrhys Llewellyn prosecution) and comparative new, like the Acts dealing with obstruction. &c.

The reasons proffered in support of the Bill, however strongly they may be supported by suggestions, such as that made by Duff Cooper at question time in the House, that " the Third International of Moscow is at present carrying on seditious propaganda amongst the armed forces of the Crown " and that " it was hoped that the Bill which was being piloted through Committee would enable the authorities to deal more effectively with the people circulating these documents," cannot be accepted at their face value. The existing powers of the Government are such that if it is desired to prosecute in any such case it can be done with every chance of success. In fact there has never been any difficulty in getting the distributors of " disaffecting " literature imprisoned. Since the Bill goes far beyond the existing law, as we shall show, and since it makes extremely wide inroads upon the present rights of individuals, it is necessary to discover what real reasons are behind the Bill and what is the object of the Government in placing it on the Statute Book.

The Drive to Fascism and War

Conditions in England approximate more and more to a pre-war situation. Here, as elsewhere, the industrial revival of 1933-4 has been

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largely contributed to or caused by development in the armament industry and allied processes. The capitalist press and other organs of "public opinion" are engaged in the propagation of a bellicose and imperialistic jingoism, which finds its expression in "air-mindedness" and similar phenomena. The international relationships of the National Government, with the Geneva deadlock, the German moratorium, the new bloc groupings in Europe and the Japanese trade war are becoming more and more strained. The Government itself makes no secret of its expectations of war. The English situation is but a facet of the world relationships of the capitalist class which in its dilemma is fast moving towards an international political crisis of extreme severity in which this country cannot but be embroiled.

Parallel with the development of the pre-war situation and concomitant with the decline of capitalism and the growing rivalries and antagonisms within both the national and international structures of capitalism, there has come about a visible growth in the strength of the revolutionary working class the world over. A study of the developments in the British Labour and Trade Union Movement within the last two years justifies the conclusion that increasing numbers of the rank and file are becoming convinced of the correctness of the revolutionary solution, even though they may not, as yet, be prepared to abandon their old loyalties to the reformist leaders. At the same time there has been a great growth in the class consciousness of the proletariat and, assisted by the appreciation of the events in Germany and Austria, a firmer and more intense feeling of international solidarity. To these symptoms both the National Government and the powerful individual capitalist groups in England are sensitive. While the latter, not unassisted by individual members of the Government are spending their weight and resources in an endeavour to sidetrack the dissatisfaction of the mass of rank-and-file Labour supporters with their leaders into the steel jaws of demagogic Fascism, the former, the National Government, is directing its efforts more and more towards the obstruction and penalisation of the leftward movement of the working class. The anti-working-class measures and projects of the National Government are designed to pave the way to the forcible suppression of the working-class movement whenever that course should, particularly in case of war or severe internal crisis, become essential for the maintenance of the existing system. At the same time these measures are intended to assist the growth of Fascism and to smooth the path of the Fascists to power.

The Government is well aware that the forces upon which it relies for its support, in the last instance, are composed largely of members of the working class who cannot but be influenced by any leftward or revolutionary sentiments fostered or expressed by the bulk of the proletariat.

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The discontent of the police force so strikingly manifested in the Official Journal of the Police Federation at such anti-working-class measures as the Economy Cuts and " Trenchardisation," the mutiny in the Navy at Invergordon in the autumn of 1931, have had their lessons for the ruling class. Hence the present moves to take the police forces and the army " out of politics "—that loyalist herring which is always trailed by the reactionaries across the track of repressive measures.

The twofold drive towards War and Fascism is indicated almost daily in the published intentions of the Government and in the statements of its leaders. The increase in armament manufacture is accompanied by overt instigations to war-mindedness by prominent politicians : the last notes of the Disarmament Conference are sung to the tune of budgeted increases in the estimates for the Armed Forces ; the bellicose mouthings of the popular press are echoed by references to the legality of the "Press Gang " (Sir Thomas Inskip) and to " Concentration Camps " (Sir John Gilmour). War preparation is openly conducted on all fronts ; new aeroplanes, new tanks, new battleships, increased grants for research into methods of chemical and bacteriological warfare. Compulsory training camps for unemployed youths are built up at the same time as reforms are made in the structure of the Reserve forces (the new Territorial sections). The War Office itself takes power by regulation, outside Parliament, to control the holding of meetings and distribution of literature on land under its control—regulations which, broadly speaking, enable it to punish those " little disseminators " of propagandist literature at whom the government pretends to have aimed the mighty—and, one might have thought, superfluous—hammer of the Disaffection Bill. The " Trenchardisation " of the Metropolitan Police Force, the ban on Labour Exchange meetings, the tightening up of the regulations for " Specials " and the anti-working-class effects of the Unemployment Act are accomplishments of the Government in its drive towards Fascism. It seeks to intensify this drive to-day by the introduction of additional police powers over public meetings which, under the disguise of anti-Mosley legislation, will be effectively used to obstruct and eventually to prevent working-class meetings while the police are employed to protect the meetings of the blackshirts against the expression of the hatred and disgust of militant workers. It is in the conditions of this twofold drive that the provisions and objects of the Disaffection Bill must be interpreted.

The " Objects " of the Bill

While the *Daily Herald* hailed the Bill as one intended for use against the Fascists, the Attorney-General did not trouble to conceal the fact that it was primarily aimed against the Communists. He expressed himself, on behalf of the original sponsors of the Bill, the heads of the Armed Forces, as disquieted by the increasing circulation of numbers of the

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Soldier's Voice and the *Red Signal.* He omitted to inform the House of the number of successful prosecutions which had been brought during the preceding two years grounded upon the distribution of those organs. This omission enabled him, supported by the Solicitor-General, to press the House to accept the Bill as promoting two objects :—firstly, to provide a new machinery more suitable for the " little men " whom he alleged, without any evidence at all, to be paid by the real culprits to distribute " disaffecting " literature ; secondly, to enable the police to get a search warrant for literature inciting to mutiny. The Bill was represented contradictorily as " long projected " and as of " extreme urgency." The Attorney-General was full of bland and equivocal assurances. The Solicitor-General represented the Bill as something " purely procedural " in its content, as a measure designed to deal with an " existing offence." Such were the arguments and methods with which the Government's sponsors of the Bill sought to bluff its way on to the Statute Book. The pretence that the Government's existing powers were not sufficiently wide, which has been dealt with above, is only paralleled by the suggestion that the Bill as drafted did not widen the existing law, which aspect we shall now proceed to examine.

The Provisions of the Bill

The actual provisions of the Bill cannot be too well known and appreciated, above all, in as much as there is a widespread ignorance both amongst the working class and intellectuals of their implication. It is therefore necessary to deal with the Bill's clauses *seriatim.*

Section one of the Bill makes it an offence punishable by two years' imprisonment on indictment, or four months on summary conviction " maliciously and advisedly " (*i.e.*, *knowingly*), to endeavour to seduce soldiers, &c., from their " duty or allegiance." In fact it presents almost parallel language to a part of the old Incitement to Mutiny Act, the offences under which are punishable with a life sentence. As drafted the Bill omitted the words " maliciously and advisedly," the insertion of which makes, however, practically no difference ; inasmuch as Territorials are members of the Forces, and as they and regular soldiers do frequently wear civilian clothes, it will always be open to the prosecution to suggest that a speaker should anticipate that his audience might contain members of H.M. Armed Forces. Even as amended the clause is dissimilar to the provision of the old Act. The Bill runs " duty *OR* allegiance " (the Act " *AND* "), and an amendment in Committee to substitute the conjunctive " and " for the disjunctive " or " was expressly rejected by the Government majority. The importance of this little word is that " duty " is a narrower concept than " allegiance "—a soldier's girl who endeavours to persuade him (a) not to go back early to barracks on his night out, or (b) not to go back till the morning will be committing an offence

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under the Bill if it becomes law. This example can be paralleled by many cases in which an endeavour is made to seduce a soldier from his " duty " (even perhaps to vote for a non-Government candidate), but not from his " allegiance."

The second section of the Bill formerly contained three sub-sections, one of which has now been withdrawn. The first sub-section originally made it an offence to be in possession or control of " disaffecting documents " without lawful excuse. The Attorney-General's disingenuousness on the Second Reading upon the question of a " lawful excuse " had its result in Committee when the sub-section was redrafted so as to make it only an offence to be in possession or control of such documents " with intent to commit, or to aid, abet, counsel or procure the commission of an offence under section one." The Attorney-General, with the assistance of the opponents of the Bill, was able to discover that in law no one except a police officer bringing a prosecution can have a " lawful excuse " for the possession of things in themselves objectionable. Had the sub-section been passed into law as drafted many of the Attorney-General's colleagues, to say nothing of the Anti-Socialist League and its satellite bodies, would have been liable to prosecution.

The amendment of the sub-section removes these dangers which the Bill's sponsors would have incurred without rendering the clause any the less objectionable. Of paramount importance is the fact that the test of the innocent or objectionable character of the documents, that is whether they are " of such a nature that the dissemination of copies thereof amongst members of H.M. Forces would be an offence under section one (*i.e.*, an " endeavour to seduce,") is one which can only be applied by the tribunal adjudicating upon an accused man. No one else can say whether or not a document is objectionable according to this test. As Mr D. N. Pritt recently said : " No conscientious counsel would have an alternative to advising a publisher or printer not to publish or print any document or words which, however apparently innocent, might be held by any magistrate, however biassed or incompetent, to be such that *if* disseminated amongst soldiers it *might* be calculated to make them think." The test, whether a document is objectionable or not, can only be made when the accused man has committed the offence for which he is tried ; and that test is applied by a tribunal which will naturally take other considerations, the existing political situation and the personality and views of the offender, into consideration.

It has been said that the cause for objection to the sub-section is removed by the Attorney-General's assurance that it is not intended to apply to peace propaganda or to the expression of political opinions. His refusal to accept amendments designed to exclude the possession of newspapers or the publication or expression of political opinions from the purview of

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this sub-section casts a sinister light on the intentions which actuate the Bill. The Attorney-General is, at least, enough of a lawyer to know that when a Bill has passed into law the intentions of its sponsors, the promises of the Government and the course of the debates in the House or Committee are quite irrelevant to its interpretation and cannot even be referred to. Once the Bill becomes law it will be the function of the Attorney-General as prosecutor and the Courts as the organs of justice to interpret and apply only the express terms of the Statute.

Nor does the statement of the Attorney-General, embodied somewhat generally in the Bill as amended, that the prosecution will have to prove that the accused was actuated with a guilty intention in possessing or controlling the disaffecting documents in any way modify the evil of the sub-section. The legal doctrine is that "everyone intends the consequences of his acts." It will thus be easy to prove a guilty intention on the part of anyone who possesses or controls documents, a single one of which may by some chance or channel come into the hands of a soldier or sailor. The printing, publication or sale of anti-war and working-class propaganda will easily become illegal under the sub-section as amended, for it will not be difficult to find a judge or magistrate intelligent enough to the interests of the prosecution and his class to decide that documents containing such propaganda "might" make a soldier hestitate before acting or might make him think. Nicely oblivious of the fact that soldiers and sailors do not belong to a class apart; they have votes and are subjected to economy cuts just like all "subjects of the Crown," the National Government has proceeded to "take the Army out of politics" by making, if it desires, working-class propaganda illegal.

The second sub-section of section two of the Bill made it an offence amongst other things to commit an "act preparatory" to an offence under section one. On the Second Reading debate the Attorney-General quoted a false analogy. During Committee, it having been pointed out that the implication of the sub-section was unparalleled and unprecedented in English law, the Bill's sponsors withdrew it. It is sufficient, then, to remark that had the sub-section passed into law it would have made the purchase of pens, ink, paper, railway or bus tickets criminal offences, if they were made with the intention of doing something which might amount to an endeavour to seduce the members of the Forces.

The third sub-section of section two has produced the collective anger of the most prominent constitutional lawyers. It provides for the issue, upon mere suspicion that any offence under the Bill has been committed, of a search warrant in respect of any premises anywhere in England applying to any person thereon. It cannot be too clearly appreciated that under the language of the section it is unnecessary for there to be shown any connection of the premises to be searched either with a proved or suspected offender or with a proved or suspected offence. Upon a police

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official's oath that he reasonably *suspects someone, sometime and somewhere,* to have committed an offence—including " possession or control " of documents under section 2 (i)—he can obtain a search warrant from two justices of the peace entitling him to enter forcibly and at any time, any premises, anywhere, and to search the whole premises and everyone thereon. The object of the search so authorised is to seize any document which, *in the opinion of the constable,* appears to be evidence of any offence. The searching constable, that is, is made the judge of the offensive character of the material through which he is searching. He is not, of course, concerned with the purpose for which the documents were possessed or controlled by anyone, with the " intention " of the possessor, but purely with the character of the documents.

Unfortunately there is widespread ignorance of the law of search—an ignorance of which the Government has not been slow to take advantage. At Common Law a right to search was only recognised in the case of stolen goods. The " general warrant " cases effectively disposed of the contention of the Government of that day that reasons of " state necessity " justified the issue of warrants entitling an official to search a subject's books and papers. Lord Camden, the judge deciding in *Entick* v. *Carrington* the illegality of " general warrants," castigated the Government and its practices as " *subversive to the comforts of society.*"

Since the decision in the " general warrants " cases, statutory powers of search upon warrant have been introduced in a number of cases covering such things as :—illicit explosives, stolen goods, coining apparatus, obscene literature which has been published for gain, &c. There is no statute which justifies a search for documents other than for copies of publications which have been adjudged by a Court to be criminal libels, or for documents connected with espionage in the interests of foreign powers.

The new clause possesses a double distinction—that of being unparalleled in width, and that of providing for the legality of general searches for documents. Space does not permit the detailed examination of the differences between the power to search, which the Bill proposes to confer, and that conferred in previous Acts of Parliament. It must suffice to say that no previous statute goes as far as permitting upon mere suspicion the search of any premises anywhere, quite unconnected with any offence or offender, for documents which in the opinion of the policeman searching shall appear to be " disaffecting " in their nature.

This power is a true " open sesame." It is necessary also to bear in mind recent developments connected with the law of search. For many years the police, particularly in the Metropolis, and the C.I.D., have been in the habit of carrying out absolutely illegal searches for documents.

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The practice was brought to public notice in the Royal Commission on Police Powers, but continued unabated until challenged in the Elias v. Passmore case.

Although resulting in the condemnation of general searches by the police, this case resulted in an alteration, by way of widening police powers, in what had been generally regarded as the law in England. It is this result of Elias v. Passmore which has great bearing upon the proposals of the Disaffection Bill. Mr. Justice Horridge held that if the police, who were lawfully upon premises but acting unlawfully, discovered something which was in fact used as evidence against someone in a criminal charge, they were justified in having unlawfully seized that thing. The Disaffection Bill contains therefore just what the police desire in order to legalise their formerly illegal practices. To get on premises will be an easy matter, and once there they will have a free hand to rove around and pick and choose what they desire to use as evidence against anyone upon any charge—to say nothing of the expressly conceded liberty to take whatever in the policeman's opinion relates to an offence under the Disaffection Bill itself !

At the time of writing, this clause is under discussion in Standing Committee, and although it may undergo modification it will not be withdrawn, nor will its inherent viciousness—its extreme width and vagueness be diminished.

The Bill's third section deals with a variety of points. It empowers the summary trial of offenders. Such trials will be conducted in police courts as a general rule by lay magistrates with the typical complexion and political allegiances of such bodies. But the prosecution is given the right, no doubt in case the danger of an acquittal or leniency by sympathetic or susceptible magistrates, is too great, to insist upon the offender being committed for trial at assizes (where the maximum sentence is six times greater!). This power given to the Government itself to pick and choose between offenders—have some " disposed of " (at the four months' rate) by lay benches, while others, the " dangerous elements," are sent up to the Judge at Assizes, is typical of the fascist complexion of the Bill.

Summary of the Bill's Characteristics

For the reader's convenience one may summarise the fascist and militaristic tendencies of the Bill, deduced from the above, under the following heads :—

(i) The Bill is aimed at stopping the comparatively free expression of political opinions by working-class organisations and representatives, particularly, but not exclusively as far as they take the form of propaganda against war.

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The fact that the Bill's real sponsors, the War Office, itself speaking merely as the armed section of the machinery of the National Government, have recently made fresh restrictive rules concerning the distribution and sale of literature, the holding of meetings, &c., is a further proof of this.

(ii) The Bill is aimed at giving the police the power of entry into the premises of all working-class homes and offices, and incidentally into the premises of other pacifist and anti-war organisations.

(iii) By the width and vagueness of its search clause the Bill throws open the door to the widest possible use of spies and provocateurs in working-class organisations and in the planting of evidence.

(iv) By enabling the Government (through the Director of Public Prosecutions) to pick and choose its tribunals, the Bill abolishes definitely the bourgeois democratic appearance of formal " equality before the law."

(v) By emphasising the jurisdiction of lay magistrates (most of them reactionary in their views—to use a mild expression) over political offences, the Bill facilitates the suppression and persecution of the whole working-class movement, and particularly of its more progressive elements and members.

The Campaign Against the Bill

Although it has not so far succeeded in securing the withdrawal of the measure, the campaign against the Bill has forced the Government to retreat upon a number of points. For this reason, and even more, because of the width and character of its protests the campaign may be justly described as one of the most successful of the " United Front " methods. Although the official Labour Party and T.U.C. elements at first displayed an attitude of intransigence, the widespread unrest produced in the rank and file of the Labour Party supporters and Trade Unionists all over the country soon forced Transport House reluctantly to enter the lists.

The newly formed Council of Civil Liberties flung itself wholeheartedly into the campaign, and in conjunction with the Labour, Liberal and Communist parties and other bodies organised conferences and meetings throughout the country which received the support of the Trade Union Movement, the " Anti-War Movement," the Society of Friends, the League of Nations Union, and many other similar societies and bodies. In addition numbers of prominent Ecclesiastics, Christian and Jewish, professional men, professors and teachers lent their active support to the campaign.

A significant symptom—indicating the widespread distrust of the National Government and all it works—was the fact that few people

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were misled by the suggestions that the Bill was directed only against "communists," and the further fact that even some of the bourgeois press, particularly in the Provinces was willing to give publicity to the widespread dissatisfaction with the Bill.

While the campaign grows and resolutions and letters continue to embarrass the Attorney-General, it must be said that the campaign lacks co-ordination and method. The Communist Party have not failed to give the campaign against the Bill striking prominence, but the official element of the Labour Party have largely failed to appreciate the Bill's importance or the unrest which it has produced. At none of the pending bye-elections has the Bill been made one of the anti-governmental issues —if this were done the results might be far-reaching.

In conclusion, one can but urge all sections of the working class and of progressive and liberal members of the bourgeois and intellectual classes to redouble the efforts by letters, resolutions, conferences, meetings, demonstrations and lobbying to secure the defeat of the Bill and the annihilation of the fascist and militaristic projects of the Government.

A LETTER

The letter below was received from a District Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union and refers to the article by Mr. Arthur Edgar Upton in the May issue entitled: "Speeding Up Engineering To-day."

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER,

As requested by your circular dated May 15 last I read every word of the article mentioned to my Committee. It aroused much interest and discussion. Several members decided to order a copy regularly through their newsagents. They undertook to bring it to the notice of the branches.

I may say that I have taken this greatly valued magazine since the first issue, and I have retained every copy to this date. I prize them and regard them as historical documents, particularly those incomparable "Notes of the Month."

A number of friends were persuaded by me to take the journal, but owing to unemployment over a number of years they were obliged to discontinue.

Wishing you every success.

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THE HAYS WHARF STRIKE

By JOHN A. MAHON

ON May 14 some 2,000 men at the Hays Wharf group in the London Uptown dock area came out on strike against the management for transferring five redundant clerks on to dockers' work. It later transpired that the management had the agreement of the Union officials for this, and that the officials had, without informing the men, issued the necessary papers putting in the clerks order to do this work.

On May 16 the firm issued its appeal for blacklegs and, in the next few days, succeeded in getting some hundreds working.

On May 28 the men returned to work, after a meeting on May 25, led by Mr. Ernest Bevin, had taken a show of hands in favour of his proposal to accept the employers' terms. These terms are: permanent men to return as preference men, work with the clerks, and give an undertaking to be of good behaviour for three months when they might appeal for complete reinstatement; a new agreement to be prepared regulating the conditions and procedure regarding disputes.

This settlement can only be regarded as a danger signal for the whole trade union movement.

The strike took place at a time when the tension on the whole industrial front was rapidly increasing. The organised masses in the chief trade unions including the dockers, are threatening to pass over to the counter-offensive in support of the demands for wage increases and shorter hours, and for the return of the wage cuts which have been tabled by more than two million trade unionists. A whole series of partial and factory strikes which are the outpost skirmishes of the big industrial battles which are looming ahead are taking place. The Transport Union, in which the Hays Wharf dockers are organised, had given notice to the Port Employers terminating the existing wage agreement and demanding a return of the cuts imposed in January, 1932, and the establishment of the day minimum for dockers implying the one-call per day system.

In the face of this threatening counter-offensive of the working class the bourgeoisie is consolidating its forces, pushing forward its fascist wing and overhauling and strengthening its legislative powers for use against the working class. At the same time the entire reformist bureaucracy in the Labour and Trade Union Movement is displaying unprecedented activity directed towards imbuing the masses with the idea that the strike

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weapon is out of date and that only a Third Labour Government will solve the questions of wages, hours and the control of industry.

The Hays Wharf group occupy a key position in the up-town docks' area of London. The Hays Wharf concern is closely connected with the Port of London Authority and with the Railway Companies. The dockers working on this group have a long tradition of unofficial action and sustained militancy which has won them considerable concessions. For all these reasons the outcome of the strike was of importance considerably beyond the wharves immediately affected.

That the employers acted on the basis of a well conceived and organised plan with the deliberate intention of provoking and then breaking the strike is clear from the developments. They immediately brought into action the whole of their resources, they organised blacklegging on a scale not seen for many years on the London docks, and they covered this with a campaign in the press about the strike involving threats to London's food supply. To get blackleg labour they not only conscripted the clerical and other staff of their own concerns, but sent to the Labour Exchanges, to Ex-Service Men's organisations, and the medical hospitals. Large forces of police were constantly at the disposal of the employers, and neither picketing nor meetings were permitted in the Tooley Street area.

But the whole plan of the employers depended for its success upon the line taken by the Union officials. Right from the start in the press campaign the employers played upon the fact that the strike was unofficial, and that the union officials had endorsed the action of the management which provoked the strike (the putting of clerks on to dockers' work). The employers relied upon the co-operation of the officials in preventing the extension of the strike both to the other wharves which were handling diverted ships and to the road transport workers, carters and van men, and to the lightermen whose solidarity action would have crippled the firm and brought it to its knees.

Throughout the whole course of the strike the employers obtained to the full this co-operation of the union officials. They not only refused recognition which meant, of course, refusing strike pay, but they did everything possible to confuse and discourage the strikers and to prevent the development of any rank and file leadership in the mass picketing and any solidarity action on the initiative of the strikers themselves. In order to carry through their line they acted as dictators at the mass meetings, refused to allow questions and discussions from the floor and thus utilised the mass meeting as a means of disorganising the strike.

In the face of the militancy and the solidarity of the strikers the local officials were themselves not strong enough to get the men back to work, and they had to bring in Ernest Bevin for this purpose. The whole machinery and "democracy" of the Transport Union which has an

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elaborate system of divisional committees, trade and area group committees, was short circuited so that Mr. Bevin himself could deal with the strike. There was no meeting called of the docks divisional committees, and the Docks Group Committee at the National Centre of the Union played no rôle in the dispute. Neither did the branches in which the membership of the Tooley Street wharves are enrolled play any part in the strike. Mr. Bevin's intervention was entirely directed towards terminating the strike by getting a vote in the mass meeting which could be interpreted as a decision to return to work. The terms of the agreement on which the return to work took place were not only humiliating in the extreme, but involved considerable financial loss and contained provision for a new agreement and an arbitration system directed towards putting an end to the right to a lightning strike. That the intervention of Mr. Bevin was directed with such concentration towards the acceptance of such terms has to be connected with the fact that on the expiry of the docks agreement on June 6, there is provision in Clause 7 for bringing into play an arbitration system and in this way postponing or preventing trade union action for the restoration of the cuts. To strangle the tradition of militancy amongst the Hays Wharf dockers and to harness them on to an arbitration scheme in practice constitutes no small success for the whole line of the Transport Union bureaucracy which is driving on all sectors of the front for arbitration to replace direct action.

The intervention of Mr. Bevin succeeded in getting the return to work after the men had stood firm for 14 days without one man breaking away, although not a penny piece was received for strike pay or relief. The degree of mass resentment at the betrayal was shown by the attempt to overturn Mr. Bevin's car after the meeting. The employers won because their chief support were the trade union officials and the trade union officials were successful because there was no organised rank and file movement to develop any independent leadership of the strike. Not until the last few days was any form of strike committee set up, and then it was of a very weak character and without sufficient mass backing. This glaring example of contrast between the militancy and the solidarity of the strikers and the lack of any alternative leadership to the officials must receive the immediate attention of the revolutionary organisations working among the dockers not only in the up-town area, but in the whole Port of London and in the other ports in order to overcome this weakness and thus make possible the winning of future struggles.

What is the explanation of this lack of development of an alternative leadership ?

In the first place it must be noted that there has been a serious neglect of the dockers by the revolutionary and militant organisations of the working class. Not only is there no Communist cell and no Rank and

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File trade union movement among the dockers, but they have been very weakly influenced by such campaigns as those of the National Hunger March and Congress, the Anti-War Movements, &c. In view of the developing war situation and the strategic importance of the docks in capitalist industry in the forthcoming industrial conflicts it is essential that the whole revolutionary movement should work systematically among the dockers in order to overcome this past neglect.

Second, the fact must be noted that trade union life among the dockers is in a terribly disorganised and apathetic condition. There are scores of docks branches which never meet at all, or at which the attendance consists of the branch officials, while the men come in to pay their contributions only. The result of this is that the reactionary bureaucracy is able to control the whole union machine including the branch officials in most cases, in addition to the divisional committees and the docks group committees. It is only necessary to contrast this state of affairs with the militant rank and file activity of the London busmen in order to see how this failure to attend the branches handicaps the dockers in their fight and plays into the hands of the reactionary officials.

This failure, to take part in the union life, is reflected in the attitude frequently expressed even by militant strikers in the Hays Wharf dispute, when the opinion was repeatedly expressed: "we pay the officials; its their job, let them get on with it." It is true that there is a long tradition of taking direct action under the leadership of the ticket steward on the job without waiting for a branch decision, but this is no substitute for regular branch life and for the systematic discussion in the branches both of the dockers' own particular problems and of the problems of the working class movement as a whole. Therefore, as a basis for the creation of a rank and file movement among the dockers capable of leading, independently of the officials, in the forthcoming struggles, it is necessary everywhere to raise the slogans of "every man in the union, every trade unionist at the branch meeting."

It must also be noted that there exists among the Communist and revolutionary elements among the dockers a strongly sectarian attitude expressing itself practically in the failure to work in the branches and expressions of contempt for the ticket stewards and minor officials as all being hopelessly in the pocket of Bevin. Such an attitude is in itself a development of the isolation of the most revolutionary elements from the branches and from the union machinery and must be completely changed.

The existing rank and file movements, particularly those in the Transport Workers' Union, can render great help in strengthening the position of trade unionism among the dockers and in passing over their experience as to how the fight against the employers amd the reformist officials can be successfully developed. There is beyond doubt a tremendous and

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growing feeling of discontent and alarm in the ranks of the dockers, and this extends to many branch officials and ticket stewards. If the whole forces of the militant and revolutionary movement learned the lessons of the Hays Wharf action and worked systematically to develop the rank and file movement of the dockers the defeat of the Hays Wharf strike can be made a starting point for big victories for militant trade unionism on the docks.

Of importance to the whole dock trade union movement, and in fact to the entire working class, is the fact that the Hays Wharf employers were able, with the help of the police, to get blacklegs working. This must rouse the entire working class movement, for it represents a growing menace. In the Firestone strike also black labour was introduced on a large scale. This menace can be combated effectively only by a great extension of militant trade unionism into the clerical and other grades, and by supporting the work of the National Unemployed Workers' Movement among the unemployed and assisting it to penetrate into the camps and other centres where the National Government is attempting to organise potential blacklegs. For the right to picket and for the withdrawal of the special police measures and bans on meetings, it is necessary to rally the entire working class in the dock areas.

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THE "NEW DEAL" SWINDLE

By HARRY GANNES

AN extreme deepening of all the basic antagonisms, a speedy sharpening of class conflicts, a development of the class struggle with a rapidity and violence exceeding even that characteristic of its historical social development—these are the outstanding features of the present situation in the United States to-day.

The National Industrial Recovery Act, the spearhead of the Roosevelt "New Deal" policy, more popularly known as the N.R.A. (National Recovery Administration), is barely more than one year old. Yet since its passage in June, 1933, over two million American workers have been on strike. Nor does an estimation of the numbers involved in the strike struggles alone convey an understanding of the momentum or changing political character of the strike movement.

U.S. Workers Facing Violent Battles

During the comparatively short period of one month, ending in the latter part of May, 1934, more than 20 workers were murdered in strike struggles. Hardly a day goes by without the newspapers reporting the murder of at least one striker. Troops in military formation, reminiscent of the last world war, equipped with machine guns, rifles, bayonets, and a special type of tear and poison gas gun developed to meet the growing mass picketing in the present wave of strikes, charged the ranks of thousands of strike pickets in Toledo, Ohio, on three successive days, killing two, maiming and wounding hundreds. Militiamen have been used against striking workers in the states of New Mexico, Alabama, and Ohio, and were mobilised for strike duty in many other states.

Each successive wave of strikes rises to higher and higher political levels, becoming more directly clashes with the state power, over-riding the wishes of the reformist union leadership.

The strikes are of the most stubborn and militant character, passing through many stages. The workers strike, re-strike, and strike again in quick succession. In the face of the growing pressure and violence of the government, despite all the splitting efforts of the American Federation of Labor bureaucracy, there is a growing sentiment for unity among the workers. There is a desire for more decisive struggles. In some instances this becomes a demand for general strikes in cities, or nation-wide strikes in whole industries.

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There is a growing instability of the control of the A.F. of L. leadership over the workers, exhibited in a thousand ways, and now more particularly in view of the pending strike of 450,000 steel workers being forced over the heads of the traditional leaders and strike breakers. Each successive strike requires more desperate measures against it on the part of the government and the A.F. of L. bureaucracy, tears away more of the flimsy illusions, leads to more militant methods of struggle. Among the Negro proletariat there is a growing fighting spirit and a greater unity between black and white against discriminatory, differential wages. Even the Southern capitalist class is forced to observe this fact, just as the whole capitalist class stands amazed at the bravery of the strikers in the face of gunfire, their failure to brook any type of blacklegging. For example, one photograph in a capitalist newspaper during the Toledo strike shows the picture of a striker, who has caught a tear gas projectile fired from a gun by a militia man, hurling it back at the troops. "In war," says the caption, "this man would be a hero."

Some "Economics" of the New Deal

The total effect of the Roosevelt policies has been to sharpen every inter-imperialist antagonism, particularly that between the United States and Britain, on the one hand, and Japan on the other. Inflation is reaching more advanced stages through manipulation of the price of gold, the proposed artificial ratio for monetary silver, and through constant forced disturbances of the budget (the latest is the allotment of $500,000,000,—£125,000,000—for agrarian "relief," which completely destroys the plans of the government for a balanced budget in 1935). The agrarian programme, providing for drastic curtailment of farm acreage, which has already brought tens of thousands of poor farmers in the South and West to ruin, is now threatening the country with a major catastrophe. More than 125,000 farm families, comprising over half a million people, are already suffering from famine conditions, and it was necessary for President Roosevelt himself to deny that a famine threatens this bounteous food-producing country, the United States.

As will be recalled, the unfolding of events of the class struggle in the United States, since the inauguration of the Roosevelt régime and its "New Deal," centres mainly about the N.R.A. and the A.A.A. (Agricultural Adjustments Act). The N.R.A. was launched with a fanfare of publicity and bombast comparable only to wartime propaganda. It was accompanied by the most shameless demagogy, promising the workers six million new jobs, a substantial increase in wages, reduction in working hours, and not only a general raising of living standards, but a complete "revolution" in capitalist social relations. President Roosevelt himself dubbed it as the most "revolutionary" piece of legislation ever undertaken.

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The New Deal and its Allies

The leaders of the A.F. of L., particularly William Green, president, and John L. Lewis, member of the Executive Council, and president of the powerful United Mine Workers of America, labelled it as "a new charter of freedom for American labour." Not to be outdone, the Socialist Party and its official organ, the *New Leader*, joined in the chorus of hozanas. "The labour clause of the bill (N.R.A.)," declared Norman Thomas, foremost leader and spokesman of the Socialist Party, "as introduced in Congress, rightly used, will give the workers an enormously powerful weapon for progress towards genuine socialism." It is not at all accidental that Mr Thomas praised precisely that section of the Act which is now being used as an excuse by the government to break strikes, to increase its fascist measures, and to lower the workers' living standard.

With more rabid and open strides, particularly through its measures against strikes, the Roosevelt government is treading the path towards fascism with iron heels. Unemployment, which was to be solved by "New Deal" magic, by grandiose paper schemes, by suave radio speeches, by the winning smiles of Mr. Roosevelt, to-day is barely below its highest point of the present crisis. There are still 16,000,000 without work. The New Deal, at first, through inflation and other methods, helped to force production out of its deepest slough, and is now tending to maintain or even increase this present level of industrial output, but with a rapidly declining number of workers.

The Results of the New Deal:

Production remains above the lowest level of the current crisis, with a simultaneous increase in the total unemployed. The N.R.A. fosters rationalisation and speed-up. Reduction of hours, and in some instances, slight money increases in wages for lower paid categories of workers, has forced an adjustment in the productivity of labour to compensate for the new arrangement. The process has reached the point where the worker is now producing more, in the textile industry for example, in 40 or even 36 hours than he produced previously in 48 hours. The more backward industries are squeezed out in favour of the more highly mechanised and trustified.

The hoax of the N.R.A. is most bitterly expressed in a definite lowering of the living standards of the entire toiling masses, with a tremendous increase in the profits of the big corporations.

The evidence of this is voluminous. The American *Federationist*, the official organ of the American Federation of Labour, an unquestioning supporter of every policy of the Roosevelt government, has not failed in a single one of its monthly issues since the passage of the N.R.A. to point out that the *real* wages of American workers under the Act have been

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precipitately falling. The circulation of consumers' goods in department and chain stores, while showing a heavy rise in the total money value, indicates a decline of over ten per cent. below the same period of the previous year, in the quantity of goods, clothing, &c., purchases by the masses.

. . . . *a Rapid Growth of Monopoly*

The predictions of the fundamental purposes and the course of the N.R.A. made by the Communist Party of the U.S.A. when the bill was first passed have been borne out to the hilt by subsequent facts. Many elements, formerly friendly to, or supporting, the N.R.A., have since, in the light of developments, admitted what the Communist Party by its Marxist-Leninist analysis accurately foretold. Outstanding in this respect is the National Recovery Review Board report, headed by the famous liberal attorney, Clarence Darrow. This report, while containing petty-bourgeois criticisms, confirms the Communist analysis on two points: (1) The N.R.A. has fostered a rapid development of monopoly, with the Roosevelt government supporting the most powerful trusts; (2) the increase in profits for finance capital has been gained at the expense of lowering the living standards of the entire population. On the fostering of monopoly, the report says:—

> The opinion, therefore, is forced upon us from what we have heard so far, that "fair competition" is merely a resounding and illusory phrase. . . . The dangers of monopoly which are inherent in the National Industrial Recovery Act cannot even be revealed to the people of the United States, if fact-finding and enforcement are thus controlled by industrial combinations in the different industries. Inevitably this means control by the largest producers.

While the Roosevelt government, in its efforts to belittle the conclusions of the Darrow Report in the eyes of the masses, vociferously denied its rôle in supporting the most powerful trusts, the leading financial journals of Wall Street, however, readily admitted that this was the intended aim of the N.R.A. For example, the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* of May 26, 1934, concedes editorially:

> As a matter of fact we had, and have no need of a Darrow report, or any other report, to tell us that the codes, so far as they are effective, limit competition. That is what they are intended to do. Nor do we need to have one rise from the dead to inform us that many of the provisions of the codes in actual practice discriminate, and must discriminate, against the small and medium-sized enterprise. Everybody knows that many of the so-called code authorities are dominated by the larger enterprises in the respective industries, and no one is likely to be convinced of the contrary by technical denials or explanations.

More than two months before the publication of the Darrow Report, the *Annalist*, outstanding organ of American finance capital, after surveying the mounting profits, an increased war budget, inflationary measures

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in the interest of the bankers, the more ample use of the government against strikes, briefly estimated the value of the New Deal to Wall Street as follows :—

> The large aggregates of financial capital stand to benefit in the long run from the new régime—the elimination of competitive methods, closer welding together of the private banking with the governmental financial apparatus, the increase of control and co-ordination—all are elements of strength of the future of financial capitalism. (March 13, 1934.)

. . . . *a Widespread Fall in the Workers' Standards*

At the present time, even with increased inflation and through monopoly stimulated rising prices, actual money wages are beginning to decline. For example, the American *Federationist* of February, 1934, declared :

> Ever since October, 1933, when the effort to increase workers' buying power under the codes reached its peak, wages have been falling off.

The same Norman Thomas, Socialist leader, who had hailed the N.R.A. as a primrose path to socialism, was forced to acknowledge after the event, exactly what the Communist Party, U.S.A., had warned the workers of previously ; namely, that the central scourge of the N.R.A. codes of " fair competition " was that the extremely low minimum wages were actually the standard towards which the employers were driving all wages ; and that the legalised minimums tended to become the maximums.

Writing in the early part of March, 1934, Mr. Thomas said :

> To-day, after covering a large part of the United States, I can add my voice to the voice of millions of workers who say N.R.A. is not working. (Of course, Mr. Thomas had held out the illusion to the workers that a properly working N.R.A. would painlessly bring socialism, and therefore advised the workers : " *Now is not the time to strike !* ") . . . It is not ending unemployment. . . . All over the United States minimum wages tend to be the maximum wages. From Maine to California I found examples of minimum wages cut in half in pay envelopes, with a contemptuous assurance on the part of the employer that the employee can do nothing about it.

We can mention here also a confirmation of this lowering of the workers' living standards which is contained in the Darrow Report, wherein it states :

> While under the (N.R.A.) codes the cost of living increases, wages have not risen accordingly. . . . According to the bulletins of the Department of Labour, taking the average cost of all foods in 1913 as 100, their cost in April, 1933, was 90, and in April, 1934, it was 107. Fifty-one cities showed in this year an advance of food prices of from 10 to 27 per cent. Rent, fuel, light, house furnishings, and other items showed at the end of the year, after the codes had begun to operate, a marked upward tendency.

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We omit for lack of space the bulky proof that the large corporations, almost without exception, have increased their profits over 1932-3, in some instances five and ten-fold.

The Character of the Reformist "Leadership"

It is difficult in the space of one article to encompass the extremely heterogenous and accelerating resistance of the workers to such conditions, which has transpired in the comparatively short period since the passage of the N.R.A. It will be necessary to generalise intricate and complex movements.

Within the reformist A.F. of L. itself tremendous changes have taken place, and are still going on at a kaleidoscopic pace. The N.R.A. caused a sizeable growth of the A.F. of L., over 452,000 new members joining. At the same time, parallel to this growth, the independent trade unions rose to over 300,000 members. The revolutionary trade unions, affiliated to the Trade Union Unity League, in a comparatively short period, and through militant leadership of strikes, expanded from a membership of 60,000 to 125,000.

Those who flocked into the A.F. of L., in spite of the conscious sabotage of the leadership against organisation, came in with the desire to improve their conditions. In many instances they came in with a healthy suspicion of the A.F. of L. officialdom. They began to trample down the craft lines of the A.F. of L. In the most important basic industries, such as motors, aluminium, rubber, aircraft manufacture, chemical, typewriter, &c., they set up federal locals. These locals are constructed on a more or less industrial base as against the usual craft type of organisation of the A.F. of L.

The development of these federal locals had a dual effect. First, it brought pressure against the union bureaucracy, for the creation of new forms of organisation, for struggle for union recognition against the strongest trusts in the United States. These federal locals, against the wishes of the central leadership, assailed capitalism in its most powerful citadels, as for example, the Mellon aluminium trust, the General Motor's trust, U.S. Rubber Corporation trust, and the various Morgan controlled aircraft manufacturing companies. Secondly, the reformist union officialdom, already acting as the certified strike breakers of the big trusts in the government apparatus, sought to become, through adoption of the federal locals, the recognised company union organisers for these company enterprises. The most recent development in this respect was the agreement concluded between the Sinclair Oil Co. and the A.F. of L. leadership, whereby the form of the oil union is revised to meet the wishes of the employer, in return for which recognition is granted. The chief consideration is that the union bureaucracy insures the employer against strikes by a specific clause to that effect in the "union"

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agreement. The whole process was aptly described at the recent 8th National Convention of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. as, "*the company-unionising of the A.F. of L. and the A.F. of L.-ising of the company unions.*"

The A.F. of L. officialdom itself opened the way for this rapid development of the so-called company union (in reality it has none of the features of a general trade union, but is purely a regimented factory organisation in which a few "reliable" workers are chosen to "represent" the others in all dealings with the managements). In considering the automobile code, as well as the steel code, the employers demanded the inclusion of a clause legalising company unions. They were defeated in the steel code (though they announced, and remained true to their declaration, that they would organise and foster company unions nevertheless). In the motor code, the employers succeeded in inserting what is now known as the "merit clause." Originally, this clause provided that the factory management retained the right to hire, fire, promote, or degrade workers on the basis of individual merit. This would mean, they declared, the "open shop." Striking out the words "open shop," the A.F. of L. permitted the retention of the other section of the clause, legalising the open, non-union shop in practice.

Workers, in fighting against these methods, described their demands for recognition of their genuine trade unions against the company organisations, as demands: "*for the closed shop and open union.*"

The Three Strike Waves Against N.R.A.

The inflationary measures first introduced by the Roosevelt government after going off gold acted as the spark which set off a strike wave. The N.R.A. was deliberately aimed to impede and stop the strike movement. Since that time there has been an incessant number of strikes, sweeping from industry to industry, one strike being temporarily lulled only for another to break out.

Thus we can broadly classify the strikes into three distinct periods of well-defined characteristics. The first wave of strikes, beginning soon after the passage of the N.R.A., involving over 100,000 bituminous coal miners, and 25,000 steel workers and over 900,000 workers in other industries, was marked by the illusions of the workers about the rights granted them by Section 7a of the N.R.A. (particularly, the "right" to belong to unions of their own choosing). Many workers went on strike believing that they were striking to enforce the N.R.A., that Roosevelt was "with them."

This series of strikes was broken by a variety of methods. First, the coal strike was ended through partial gains, and through terror against miners in the "captive" mines (those exclusively owned and worked for

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steel, railroad and utility corporations). The steel strike was ended by a number of shameless, demagogic promises, where the A.F. of L. bureaucracy led the strike, and by the most brutal murder and terror where the revolutionary Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union was in the leadership. More than 500 private thugs, armed by the Jones and Laughlin steel corporation, marched into Ambridge, Pennsylvania, and by a mass attack on the strike pickets, killing one and wounding 40, actually shot the strike out of existence. The leading strike-breaking rôle throughout was played by the Roosevelt government and the N.R.A.

But out of the coal and steel strike grew the National Labor Board, a new national strike-breaking apparatus, connected with the N.R.A. The board was composed of an equal number of A.F. of L. leaders and industrialists. The chairman is Senator Wagner of New York. The period of the most active functioning of the National Labor Board, lasting until the threatened strike of 250,000 automobile manufacturing workers in March, 1934, marked the second period of the strike wave.

The second wave of strikes was characterised by a rapid disintegration of illusions in the N.R.A. ; they were strikes *against the codes ;* they were characterised by an increase in the power of the rank and file trade union oppositions, and by a declining confidence in the National Labor Board.

The Third Strike Wave Shows Increasing Militancy

The strikes coming after President Roosevelt's "settlement" of the threatened automobile general strike marks the third series, distinguished by increased use of violence by the Government because of the failure of demagogic appeals, deep-going distrust of the National Labor Boards, and the growing instability of the control of the A.F. of L. officialdom, as well as the rising sympathy strikes and the beginnings of sentiment for general strikes.

The most famous and typical instance of the National Labor Board's strike breaking activities, which led to rapid disillusionment among the workers, was the now famous Weirton Steel Company case. The Weirton Steel Co. is an independent enterprise, closely linked to the Morgan Steel Trust, with plants in the states of West Virginia and Ohio. In the latter part of September, 1933, 14,000 workers walked out in a solid militant strike, demanding union recognition and wage increases, shutting down the plant for the first time in twenty years. The strike was led by the Amalgamated Association of Steel, Iron and Tin Workers (an A.F. of L. affiliated union) through local and inexperienced leaders. Militancy and sharp clashes with state and company police characterised the strike. Not for a moment did the workers relax their fighting spirit or vigilance. The steel strike began to spread swiftly in conjunction with

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the coal strike. In Pennsylvania, along the Nonangahelia River—the American Rühr—strike talk hung over the steel valley thicker than the heavy smoke clouds. In Ambridge, Pennsylvania, the revolutionary trade unions, the Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union, led 5,000 steel workers out on strike, and in Clarton, Pennsylvania, the striking coal miners, who had come out for the second time, were picketing the most important Carnegie Steel Corporation unit. A general coal and steel strike was looming.

The National Labor Board moved into action quickly. Messrs. Green, Lewis and Co., through Senator Wagner, proposed terms of arbitration to the Weirton Steel strikers. The workers were offered (1) return to work without discrimination ; (2) an election in December to determine to which union they wished to belong ; (3) arbitration on their wage demands. Under the pressure of the leaders the strikers returned to work. The cracking of this strike was like dynamiting a log jam in a rapid river. The tie-up was broken. Once in the mill the employers began to attack in earnest. Over 800 were laid off. A company union was shackled on the men. Elections were denied, under N.R.A. supervision. Every promise had been shamelessly broken. Losing faith in the N.R.A. and the National Labor Board, many workers still retained faith in Roosevelt, disassociating him from the working out of his policies. In fact, on appeal to Roosevelt himself, he personally promised the workers factory elections on the choice of unions. These promises were as shamelessly and wantonly broken as those made by the National Labor Board. Later this made it all the more difficult for the Board to continue its strike breaking tactics effectively at the time of the threatened automobile strike in March, 1934. Only the direct intervention of President Roosevelt, ably supported by the willing and shameless blacklegging deeds of the A.F. of L. leadership, much to the satisfaction and openly expressed delight of the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, was able to prevent this latter strike at the critical period of seasonal high production.

The strike betrayals in Weirton Steel, with hundreds of prototypes in other factories, and the unabashed action of the government and the A.F. of L. leaders on behalf of the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, had the effect of rousing the rank and file in the A.F. of L. to greater revolt against the bureaucracy, to more militant, rank-and-file controlled strikes, and to re-strikes of a more stubborn and more persistent character, rejecting efforts at arbitration by either the National Labor Board, or its local bodies, which are called Regional Labor Boards. This was the situation at the outbreak of the recent violent struggles that left no doubt of the rising militancy of the American working class against the armed forces of the capitalist strike breaking state machinery.

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On the Eve of a Steel Battle

The next great class battle front may be in the steel industry. Under pressure of the rank and file and the growing revolutionary opposition in the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers a militant, fighting policy was adopted at this union's last convention. Demands were presented to the employers with an ultimatum that if the union is not recognised and wages increased by June 16 a general strike would be called in the steel industry. A rank and file committee of ten was elected in order to carry through these decisions of the convention. The Steel and Metal Workers' Industrial Union immediately proposed a united front to insure a powerful strike and unity amongst all the workers. The steel strike immediately became an issue for the White House, but it is proving extremely difficult for Roosevelt to choke off the steel strike in the manner of the coal or automobile strikes. In the meantime, the steel trust is arming all its plants for civil war. Huge arsenals are placed in all of the steel mills. Beds and food supplies are stored in the mills to care for and feed the blacklegs in case they dare not run the gamut of the mass picket lines should there be an effective strike. The use of troops is certain should the leading mills be shut down by the strikers.

* * * * *

This growing militancy which is spreading throughout the U.S.A. is resulting in an influx into the revolutionary party, the Communist Party of America. At its April Convention the announcement was made that it had increased its membership by 50 per cent., to 24,500, since August last year. The Party nevertheless does not regard this gain as at all in keeping with the possibilities or the tempo of the situation.

In June this year the Socialist Party also held its Convention, and under the pressure of the radicalisation of the rank and file was forced to swallow its shameless aid to the "New Deal" and adopt the most hypocritical mélange of "left phrases" which are bringing confusion and dismay to the leadership.

The present situation of constantly rising major class struggles makes it vitally necessary for the revolutionary leadership to arouse greater mass resistance to the increasingly fascist, hunger and war, measures of the Roosevelt régime, and to win the American proletariat in struggle behind the slogan for Soviet Power in the United States.

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JAPANESE IMPERIALISM AND THE OPEN DOOR IN CHINA

By YU-SUN

JAPANESE imperialism is an open secret. The broad masses of China know it, so do the Japanese themselves. It is only the Kuomingtang and their colleagues, the imperialists, who purposely pretend not to know it. The Kuomingtang must keep up this pretence, for otherwise Japan would stop her financial support and munition supplies, with which the Kuomingtang hangmen are terrorising the broad masses and for which they are gradually transforming Chinese territories into Japanese. The imperialists must keep up this pretence, for otherwise Japan would point to their similar imperialistic activities in China and would in due time prevent them from obtaining a fair share in the partitioning of China.

It was these pretences which Japanese imperialists could not tolerate any longer, when they declared their renewed and emphasised " Hands off China " policy late in April last. This declaration did not startle anyone. Those, who know the Tanaka Memorandum, know that Japan will carry out the plan as laid down in that Memorandum at any cost. The occupation of Manchuria in 1931, the invasion of Jehol in 1932, the recent activities in Inner Mongolia and North China and the threatened advance into Central and South China, are but successive steps in the execution of the grandiose but definite design of conquering the whole of China, and perhaps the rest of the Far East as well. Japan stops every now and then only to choose the right moment for the right moves. Since the last Great War, no time has been more favourable for Japanese imperialism than the present. The only historical parallel is with 1915, when Japan presented its famous Twenty-one Demands knowing that Europe was drunk with the workers' blood of all belligerent nations.

To the Chinese masses, this renewed declaration of the Japanese imperialists marks the beginning of another era of bloody struggle. But the Chinese masses are no weaklings. Look at the stubborn resistance put up at Shanghai in 1932. Look at the 700,000 anti-Japanese volunteers now struggling under the iron hand of Japanese imperialism in Manchuria. Two and a half years have elapsed, but the spirit of these Chinese volunteers is still unbroken. On the contrary, the number and strength of

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the volunteers are increasing daily, even hourly, while the expeditions of the Japanese have scores of times been decisively routed.

In face of this, the Japanese imperialists are as much embittered as startled. Their hatred, therefore, for the Chinese Soviets, who are now directing the volunteers' activities, and for Soviet Russia, who is viewed by all imperialists as the mother of all illegal children, becomes more intensified daily and even hourly. The plot to attack Soviet Russia is, therefore, not only the will of the Japanese imperialists, but also the joint will of all their fellow imperialists in China. Japan has been adopting a provocative attitude unceasingly for the last few years. At one time it almost decided to attack Soviet Russia, just as it did with China—the undeclared war. But later through the Western countries they learnt the strength and preparedness of Soviet Russia to expel and to annihilate any invader who dares to poke its snout in the "Soviet Garden." It has now become obvious that it is only through the joint action of Japan, England and Germany that there may be one chance in a hundred of defeating the Workers' Fatherland. This action, though it seems fantastic, happens unfortunately to have been secretly arranged and worked out by all these countries for quite a long time.

The latest news from Harbin shows that because of the increasing strength and activities of the volunteers, the Japanese imperialists have intensified their widespread terror, a terror which can hardly find a parallel in any other conquered land in the world. On the 1st of March, when the puppet Emperor of "Manchukuo" was given his valueable crown, there was a revolt of 2,000 volunteers in Sansing (on the lower Sungari River) to protest against this shameful deed. This infuriated the Japanese who thereupon ordered 25,000 Manchukuo troops to make a punitive expedition against them. On the way, however, these soldiers, whose homefolks had been slain under the barbarous rule of the Japanese and who had joined the army to obtain a scanty living, revolted and joined their brother volunteers. To do so, they had to kill several Japanese officers, who were trying at the point of their revolvers to drive these soldiers to kill their brothers. The Japanese imperialists were consequently still further infuriated ; so they mobilised three divisions of the Japanese army and nearly 100 bombing planes to revenge the lives of these few Japanese officers. As a result, scores of villages around Sansing were bombarded and completely razed to the ground, and about 20,000 of Chinese workers, peasants, soldiers and aged and young civilians including women and children, were all barbarously and cold-bloodedly killed. This is not all. Ever since this massacre, the Japanese have adopted the dodge of confiscating all arms which the peasants owned for their own self-defence against bandits. The order was issued to the effect that everyone who did not surrender their arms would be shot together with their family and close relatives. It was also declared that in the

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future all household knives would be numbered and registered. This reminds us that Manchuria has already become a "Second Korea." In Korea no household knives are allowed. There they have common knives chained to the walls, so that even if a man is desperately cornered by government agents, who are given absolute power to decide whether a man should die or not, he is thus unable to get hold of even a knife for his own self-defence. Measures like these, though horrible, have very little effect on the Chinese volunteers. On the other hand, because of these horrible measures, the spirit of the volunteers themselves and the sympathy and support accorded to them, are everywhere and continuously growing by leaps and bounds.

As the subjection of the country is thus proving so difficult to accomplish, Japan, therefore, is being forced to alter her tactics. She is now heading for Inner Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan, so that she may join hands with the British imperialists, who have already started advancing from Tibet into the south-western part of Chinese Turkestan. Were this tactic to succeed, the Chinese Soviets in Central China would be completely cut off from the U.S.S.R. Therefore, this is such a vital step that the Chinese masses cannot afford to ignore it.

The next step for Japan is to invade Northern China. As the Chinese masses are already aware, the Kuomingtang have signed a postal and railway agreement with Japan that has the effect of facilitating Japanese army movements. The bandit chief, Liukwei-tang, has been supported by Japanese imperialists and has done a considerable amount of damage both to the property and to the lives of peasants and civilians in the demilitarised zone, which was set up by the Tanku Agreement signed by the treacherous Kuomingtang. Already Hwangfu, the Japanese agent and traitor, has been recognised by the Kuomingtang as a virtual governor in North China. Already with the aid of traitors, 50,000 of the most poverty stricken of the Chinese toilers have been pressed into the employment of the Japanese to work in Manchuria as slaves. Already the royalists are busy in the district between Peiping and Kinkin under the direct encouragement of Hwangfu and the Japanese imperialists. The actual transformation of North China into Japanese territory only threatens to be a matter of time, which will be spun out just so long as to enable the Kuomingtang to "save face."

After thus getting hold of this territory Japan would be in a position to pick a little quarrel with her fellow imperialists. It seems that her "Hands off China" policy is chiefly directed against the U.S.A. There is little bad feeling between Japan and Britain. No matter what other conflicts may be between them, these two imperialisms always agree on the subject of China. In fact, the antagonism between Britain and the U.S.A. is more acute. Britain prefers to renew her traditional friendship with

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Japan in order to defeat the U.S.A. That is why a " friendly communication " was sent by Sir John Simon to Japan. France is another fellow imperialist, who has very little conflict indeed with Japan. As recent news shows, France has made an agreement with Japan to make vast investments in Manchuria, and this very fact makes their other fellow imperialists very jealous. Therefore the declaration as a whole has very little bearing on the real imperialistic designs on China.

Among the instances of " happy leg-pulling " amongst the imperialists in China, the most ironical is Japan's admonition to the powers not to support the Chinese with more money and ammunition, for, as was explained in the declaration what Japan feels most deeply about is " peace and order " in China. We all know that this admonition is one of the very greatest of all Japan's habitual lies. Last year, according to an article, which appeared in the *China Weekly Review* (Shanghai), a certain Shanghai banker went to Japan, under the guise of a health trip, and made a secret agreement for the Kuomingtang to sell the unmarketable cotton and wheat, which China gets from the $50 million Cotton and Wheat loan from U.S.A. at a very low price. The proceeds of this sale could be paid either in gold Yen, which could assist the Kuomingtang in bribing the other militarists, or in munitions, which could be used for civil war or for attacking Soviet China. In view of this fact alone, what could be more ironical and provocative than this admonition ?

To-day the revolutionary tide in China is very high and its upsurge cannot be checked. The Chinese masses are fully supporting Soviet China ; Soviet China is the only light in the most troubled and oppressed China Sea. The Chinese masses believe that as Japanese imperialism is an established fact China cannot exist independently without defeating Japanese imperialism. The most efficient way of defeating Japanese imperialism is for the Chinese masses to get rid of their own hangmen, traitors, " running dogs," of finance-capital—the Kuomingtang and the Blue Jacket Fascists, and even the young Social-Democratic Party, which had a short-lived existence in Fukien. The Japanese revolutionary forces on their part must overthrow their militarists and their finance-capitalists—the mainstay of Japanese imperialism. The workers, peasants and proletariat of the whole world on their part must give their support to the masses of China and Japan faced with these tremendous tasks. The day, when the Chinese join hands with the Japanese masses, is the day, when the world revolution is half done. Therefore fight on and fight harder, peasants, workers, and intellectuals of China, Japan, and the whole world !

[*Next month it is intended to give a full analysis of the Designs of the other imperialist powers on China and particularly those of British Imperialism.*]

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"MARXISM" IN CARICATURE

What Marx Really Meant. By G. D. H. Cole. Gollancz. 5s.
Karl Marx : A Study in Fanaticism. By E. H. Carr. Dent. 12s. 6d.

THERE is at the moment, as an accompaniment to the world crisis, a rising boom in books on Marx and Marxism. Bourgeois and Labour theorists alike are "discovering" Marx anew. Middleton Murry already two years ago produced his picture of Marx as a pendant to Christ and D. H. Lawrence. Last year came Professor Hook of New York. Now comes Cole. On the more old-fashioned bourgeois side Carr's biography spits its little venom.

All produce a Marx in their own image. Middleton Murry produced a religious revivalist and called it Marx. Hook produced a disciple of Dewey and American Pragmatism. Cole produces a dreary Socialist League Fabian.

The change of attitude of Labour writers to Marx is a reflection of the crisis. Ten years ago the Labour theorists were concerned above all to show the independence of British Labourism from Marx. The British Labour Movement, proclaimed Webb in his Chairman's Address to the 1923 Labour Party Conference, derives, not from Marx, but from Robert Owen. British Labour had nothing to learn from the foreign theories of Marx. To-day the tune is changed. The reformist illusions of the inevitability of gradualness came a heavy crash in 1931. The vindication of Marxism is established with greater power at every turn of history. The Labour theorists have to adopt new methods. They now all "recognise" Marx. *This does not mean that they are in any sense coming over to Marxism.* On the contrary, they are endeavouring *to refute Marx in a new fashion, by "adapting" him.*

The most insolent of all these attempts is the present attempt of Cole under the modest title, "What Marx Really Meant," *i.e.*, what Cole proposes to substitute for Marxism.

Cole's war with the Marxists is revealed in every page. The Marxists appear as "theological parrots" (p. 16), "pedantic adherents" (p. 38), given to "meaningless repetition by rote of the phrases of the founder" (p 279), "reciting the Marxian credo" (p. 298), tied to "unquestioning acceptance of all his doctrines and even a belief in the literal inspiration of all the Marxian scriptures" (p. 7)—all the old familiar gibes of the apostles of "freedom of criticism," *i.e.*, freedom of the destruction of Marxism and substitution of bourgeois thought. As Lenin long ago

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remarked about Cole's prototypes, the old Bernsteinian revisionists and Russian "critical" Marxists, of whose position Cole's "new" discoveries are only a very late, obsolete and considerably feebler repetition.

> Catchwords like "against orthodoxy" . . . high-sounding phrases against the ossification of thought, &c., conceal carelessness and helplessness in the development of theoretical ideas. (Lenin: *What is to be Done.*)

Against Marxism Cole seeks to present a re-hash of the old Bernsteinian revisionism—substitution of the "method" of Marx for his "conclusions," allegation of the development of capitalism to forms not foreseen by Marx, especially development of the "new middle class," jettisoning of Marxist economics, jettisoning of the Marxist theory of revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, advocacy of the parliamentary transformation to socialism by the electoral-parliamentary collaboration of the workers and middle class à la Labour Party and Socialist League.

In the most innocent fashion Cole insists on the necessity to revise Marx: "Every Marxist is compelled by his Marxism to be a 'revisionist'" (p. 291). Since a dialectical approach requires the constant development of theory to be adequate to ever-changing reality, it follows, argues Cole, that we must fashion Marxism anew "for our day and generation." "For this task we are likely to find his method more directly helpful than his doctrine"; "if Marx helps us at all, his method is likely to help us more than his conclusions" (pp. 8-9). On this basis Cole jettisons Marx's "doctrine" and "conclusions" and sets up his own substitute.

This approach is only the transparent cover for the repudiation of Marxism. In the first place, the dichotomy between "methods" and "conclusions" is a false one. Marx utilised his "methods" to analyse the laws of capitalism, of its necessary development, and of the transition from capitalism to socialism through the dictatorship of the proletariat. The "conclusions" of Marx are inextricably bound up with his "methods." We are still living in the epoch of capitalism and of the transition from capitalism to socialism, whose laws Marx analysed and on the basis of which analysis he drew his conclusions. Consequently the political conclusions of Marx, in the forefront of which he placed the dictatorship of the proletariat, are not only historically valid, but are still *currently* valid as guides to action. In 1872 Marx and Engels wrote of the "Communist Manifesto," written in 1847:

> Though conditions may have changed in the course of the twenty-five years since the Manifesto was written, yet the general principles expounded in the document are on the whole as correct to-day as ever.

Why was it possible for Marx to say this after twenty-five years of change—despite Cole's "dialectical" proof of the impossibility on Marxist

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principles to argue in such a fashion ? Because the general laws of capitalism, of the struggle of capitalism and the proletariat, and of the conditions of the proletarian revolution, remained valid then, as they remain valid to-day. To-day the issue of capitalism and the proletariat, of the proletarian revolution, has become much sharper. Many of the points which Cole endeavours to urge against Marx, with regard to the complexity of social relations, the difficulty of any simple clear-cut division, the varied psychology of different strata of the proletariat, &c., could have been urged far more easily in the middle nineteenth century than to-day. To-day the basic social issue which Marx laid bare is far sharper and inescapably clearer to all than in Marx's day. The validity of Marx's conclusions has not weakened, but strengthened, with the passage of time and events.

Second, Marxism is in reality no dead dogma, but a living movement, Marxism has fully developed and kept pace with changing events. But it has developed in the hands of Marxists, on the basis of the principles of Marx, not of their denial. Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have continuously developed the theory and outlook and practice of Marxism. Marxism to-day in the twentieth century, in the period of the general crisis of capitalism, is Marxism-Leninism ; there can be no other to-day. This is the living dialectical development which has taken place in reality, while Cole is crying in the air for a substitute. And it is significant that Cole completely ignores the living reality of Marxism-Leninism, deals only with a dead caricature of Marxism, then complains that his caricature is a dead one, belonging to the nineteenth century, and on this basis calls for a substitute. But Cole is not carrying forward Marxism " for our day and generation " ; this is already done by Marxism-Leninism ; Cole is only endeavouring to substitute for Marxism pre-Marxist bourgeois liberal-democratic and idealist theories.

It is unnecessary to say that, starting from this basis of the substitution of Marxism before he has understood it, Cole shows no understanding of the elements of Marxism, nor even any sign of having attempted seriously to study it. He denies materialism at the outset, and proposes to substitute the vague and meaningless conception of " realism," which in fact contains within itself the old idealist dualism :

> Most people think instinctively of materialism as asserting the supremacy of matter over mind, or even as denying the existence of mind save as a derivative quality of matter, whereas no such doctrine is involved in or even reconcilable with the " Materialist Conception of History." What this conception does assert is that Mind, as a formative force in history, works by embodying itself in things, changing their shape and potency, and combining them into relations and systems whose changing phases are the basis of the history of mankind. (p. 15.)

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"Mind" is thus for Cole the great demiurge of history; he calmly "popularises" the Materialist Conception of History as the conception that "Mind" makes history! Whence this mysterious "Mind" arises as "a formative force in history" he does not pause to enquire; had he done so he might have advanced one first degree to an understanding of the Materialist Conception of History, instead of calmly proclaiming its opposite as the true version. Similarly, he writes:

> Not nature, but man's power over nature lies at the root of history. (p. 16.)

Here is the old idealist dualism. Contrast with this false separation Marx's treatment of man as "a force of nature"; "Man opposes himself to Nature as one of her own forces" ("*Er tritt dem Naturstoff selbst als eine Naturmacht gegenüber*") in the chapter of *Capital* on the "Labour-Process."

Similarly he distorts Dialectical Materialism into a vulgar Mac-Donaldite theory of evolution, of the necessity to see real things as in change.

> We must think of things as they are, not as standing still, so as to be reproducible by timeless portraiture, but as changing and growing while we regard them. (p. 14.)

"Think of"; "*while we regard them.*" Contrast Marx's first Thesis on Feuerbach:

> The chief fault of all materialistic philosophy up to the present is that the thing, the reality, the material existence is only conceived of under the form of the *object of contemplation*, but not as human sense-activity, praxis, not subjectively.

When he then has to find the element of contradiction or conflict, which is the root of Dialectical Materialism, he can only find it in the special field of the class struggle and abandons any attempt to treat Dialectical Materialism as a world-conception. For him Engels' *Naturdialektik* does not exist; indeed, he has not even learnt anything from *Anti-Dühring*.

He distorts the Materialist Conception of History into the usual vulgar stressing of the importance of the "economic factor" (this splitting up of isolated factors inevitably results from the initial denial of materialism).

> Men make their own history; but they make it primarily in the economic sphere. The great history makers are those who by invention or experiment, or by enlarging the boundaries of human knowledge, alter the character of the powers of production, and therewith the ways in which men get their living and organise themselves for economic ends, or those who by destroying civilisations and sweeping away the works and knowledge accumulated by generations of toil and experiment, drive men back to painful new beginnings of economic and cultural activity. (p. 20.)

This laughable "Conception of History" successfully empties out the greater part of history, and in its bland "economist" non-understanding of politics destroys any understanding of the real process of history.

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The mangling of Marx's economic teaching and attempted conciliation with bourgeois economics follows familiar lines. Like all the university professors in England who have so far attempted to approach Marx's economic teachings, his idealist outlook cuts him off from the scientific materialist basis of Marx's analysis of the economic process of capitalist society, and leaves him at the mercy of the psychological quicksands of the modern bourgeois schools which are still floundering in the fetishism of the market. He complains that

> If Marx had been able to think of use-values as quantitative, some of the most confusing parts of the opening chapters of *Das Kapital* need never have been written. (p. 218.)

He demands that " Twentieth century Marxism " should

> build, by way of criticism, upon the marginalist economics of the modern schools. (p. 279.)

For him, Marx's labour theory of value is " a dogma." (p. 211.)

> Labour is not the sole source, and still less is it the sole measure of value, though it is by far the most important source and measure of value. (p. 275.)

He proposes to substitute " amount of objective utility " as the corrected meaning of Marx's " value." This farrago of nonsense is solemly presented in two chapters of *What Marx Really Meant*. While thus repudiating every basis of Marx's economics, he proceeds, like Lindsay, to apologise for Marx's economics as ethical, not scientific :

> It is an attempt to explain how labour is exploited under the capitalist system. (p. 207.)

The bourgeois anti-Marxist, Carr, takes the same view :

> The purpose of " Capital " is to demonstrate that the class-hatred of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie is explained and justified by the " exploitation " of the former by the latter. (Carr, p. 260.)

By what right do these Coles and Carrs endeavour to foist on to Marx, not as their own personal view, but as a cool statement of Marx's own alleged " purpose," " attempt," &c., the very outlook of the ethical approach to economics for which Marx expressed the greatest contempt ? Solely by the divine right of ignorance and non-understanding of his theory. But not of justifiable ignorance. For Marx has stated the " purpose " of his *Capital* with exact clearness in the Preface :

> The ultimate aim of this work is to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society.

" To lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society "—a perfectly clear, scientific aim. Whether this purpose is successfully achieved or not, can be discussed ; there is no justification for misrepresenting the purpose. Marx's economic theory stands or falls solely by its scientific

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superiority over bourgeois theory in interpreting the objective reality of the capitalist process and of the development of capitalism.

As with all revisionists, who have always been the voice of the petty bourgeoisie in conflict with Marxism, Cole's main conflict with Marx and main emphasis of his whole book is to stress the importance of the "middle class." Here he considers that Marx went wrong. He considers that Marx saw only the old decaying petty bourgeoisie of the independent craftsmen, small traders, &c., destined to diminish increasingly between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Like Bernstein, he stresses the importance of the "new middle class" created by capitalism, the salaried technical and managerial workers, small investors and rentiers, &c. He is apparently unaware that Marx already declared in the "Communist Manifesto":

> In the countries where modern civilisation flourishes, a *new petty bourgeoisie* has come into being. This class hovers between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and is perpetually being reconstituted as a supplementary component of bourgeois society.

It is just this "perpetual reconstitution" of a "new petty bourgeoisie" by capitalism which staggers Cole, as it staggered Bernstein, as a new fact unforeseen by Marx. What Marx demonstrated was that this perpetually renewed petty bourgeoisie is no less perpetually subjected to successive crisis and cannot "exist as an independent section of modern society." Here is the point of conflict, and it is here that Cole falls into unity with Fascist theory. Bernstein and the older revisionists or Fabians used to argue that the new middle class would harmonise the conflict of classes, leading to less, not increased class-conflict, and so to the democratic advance to socialism. This illusion, refuted at the time by the Marxists, has long been exploded by facts. To-day the new revisionists argue that the middle class, taking the path of Fascism, can win power independently of capitalism or socialism, and establish a third alternative to capitalism or socialism, unforeseen by Marx.

> There is in the nature of things no reason why they (the petty bourgeoisie) should not win and bend the great capitalists to their will. (p. 139.)
>
> The intermediate groups created and strengthened by the advance of capitalism may be powerful enough for a time to defeat the proletariat and to seize power for themselves. (p. 295.)

His approach to Fascism even goes to the length of envisaging a Fascist dictatorship "serving the interests of the entire people."

> There remains the theoretical possibility of a form of Fascist dictatorship that would really set out to serve, and not merely pretend to serve, the interests of the entire people. (p. 142.)

Here is Social Fascism with a vengeance. The facts of Germany or Italy are sufficient disproof of this illusion of Fascism as the rule of the middle class. Fascism is the rule of Monopoly Capital in conditions of extreme

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decay of capitalism and intensified class conflict. The intermediate strata have and can have no independent rôle, but only as allies of the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. The class-conflict of the bourgoisie and the proletariat is not lessened, but brought to an extreme point.

Cole concludes with the usual Labour Party plea for a parliamentary transformation to socialism. It may be noted that the imperialist basis of this political line shows clearly through. Not only does he write :

> Undoubtedly for half a century after the Communist Manifesto was written, working-class standards of life were rising, and rising most of all in the most rapidly developing capitalist countries. (p. 112.)

without mentioning the basis of intensified colonial exploitation which underlay this temporary rise in standards of the privileged strata of the world proletariat. But he openly declares :

> The loss of the revenue from overseas investments, or a large further setback of British trade, might speedily alter the entire political situation in Great Britain. *The hope, therefore, of a constitutional victory of Socialism in Great Britain depends on British prosperity surviving long enough for it to be won.* (p. 302.)—Italics added.

It will be seen that the line here is the line of full unity with imperialism. With this may be compared the striking declaration :

> Nor are Great Britain and France, the two leading parliamentary countries, in any danger of military defeat in the near future, provided that they stand together. (p. 162.)

Servility to imperialism, parliamentary reformism and hostility to revolution, philistinism in all theoretical questions, sentimental ethics, and revisionist glorification of the petty bourgeoisie and leaning to Fascism—this is what Cole has the nerve to present as " What Marx Really Meant."

Carr's biography of Marx is another also familiar type—the open bourgeois caricature of Marx. Carr is a Foreign Office official, who was employed at the Versailles Conference and also at Riga. He has availed himself of the extensive new material published by the Marx-Engels Institute, but without the slightest understanding, and with a light supercilious attitude throughout which makes his book worthless for any serious purpose. It is not even important as an anti-Marxist work. It is merely below its subject. Its profound " psychological " interpretations of Marx's line in terms of " irritability," " hatred," " envy of the material well-being of others," " arrant and motiveless boasting," &c., give the level of the author. On the side of the theory of Marxism the author would have done better not to betray himself by attempting to write. The profundity of his observations can be judged from the following examples :

> It is odd that class-hatred should have been regarded by Marx as the instrument destined to lead mankind into the perfect communist commonwealth. (p. 76.)

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> Marxism, under the banner of "Unity of thought and action," has tended to degenerate into a species of opportunism whose philosophical basis can be nothing but pragmatism. (p. 80.)
>
> The grand lines of the Marxist system were thus completed. . . . Yet Marx, as he contemplated it, was consciously or sub-consciously aware of one deficiency. It lacked a moral foundation. (p. 83.)
>
> Marx was not, in the strict sense of the word, a great philosopher. He was not in any sense of the word at all a great economist. He was not a statesman or an orator or a leader of men. He was not inspired by any deep love for humanity, and he was not, in his dealings with most of his fellow-men, a particularly lovable or estimable character. But he imposed himself on his contemporaries, and he has imposed himself on history.

Thus the judgment of this little Podsnap on worlds not in his ken. These pearls of wisdom are solemly bound together on heavy paper for twelve shillings and sixpence net. The student who knows enough to ignore the rubbish can make use of some of the new material, appropriated from the Marx-Engels Institute, not previously published in English. It is unfortunate that these are not yet available in English in a more suitable form. It is all the more urgent that an adequate biography of Marx in English should be prepared.

R. P. D.

[*Owing to pressure of space a further instalment of the series of extracts from the Correspondence of Marx and Engels on the British Working-Class Movement has had to be omitted from this issue.*]

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BOOK REVIEWS

R.P.D. ON FASCISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

Fascism and Social Revolution. R. P. Dutt. Martin Lawrence. pp. 289. 5s.

HERE is the book that has been most urgently awaited on all sides. The book that will reply to all doubts and hesitations of everyone who is seriously concerned at the gathering storm clouds of darkest reaction. Why are these clouds so rapidly spreading? What lessons can be learnt from these countries in the world over which they have broken, bringing mass murder and the filthiest barbarism in their wake? How can they be swept aside? How can we advance out of the present slough of decay and stagnation? In this work all these questions are most carefully and scientifically dealt with, and with unanswerable conviction. Indeed this book has a truly international significance. R.P.D., well-known throughout the world for his brilliant Notes of the Month, has here more than surpassed even the most penetrating example of them. This book should have a circulation of hundreds of thousands.

In this country there still persists amongst the decisive sections of the working class an instinctive belief that Fascism could never succeed in sweeping aside the traditional democratic institutions and set up its open dictatorship. There is another trend of thought which inclines towards the idea that British Fascism, inspired by the German and Austrian events, and nourished as it is by every action of the National Government, when it comes to power will be able to hold power for at least a temporary period. They predict a " phase of Fascism."

Against both of those conceptions Dutt, in this book, advances convincing evidence and arguments to show that the issue hangs, not on any formal reading of events or speculative forecasts, but that it rests entirely on the proletarian forces and the revolutionary leadership.

The author has compressed an international survey of Fascism into less than three hundred pages. The value of such a survey lies primarily in the fact that Fascism is placed in its proper perspective. Those who seek to excuse or explain its growth solely on the grounds of post-war chaos and confusion would do well to study this book, for here in a painstaking manner Dutt has traced Fascism to its roots in confirmation of the assertion that it is a product of decaying Capitalism, introduced:

> to throttle the development of the productive forces in order to save class-society to destroy material wealth, to destroy millions of superfluous human beings in the slow rot of starvation and the quick furnace of War, to crush down the working-class movement with limitless

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> violence, to arrest the development of science and culture and education and technique, to revert to more primitive forms of limited, isolated societies, and thus to save for a while the rule of the possessing classes at the expense of a return to barbarism and spreading decay.

Readers will find the numerous and lengthy quotations of extreme value. Dutt has applied the method of " condemning them out of their own mouths " with meticulous care and in a manner that of necessity must convince. The shiftings and flat contradictions to which Mussolini, for example, has had recourse in his loyalty to finance capital are presented in glaring contrast and, in precisely the same way, the wild guesses and solemnly expressed opinions of the Labour leaders here and abroad, are produced as proof of their complete inability to interpret current events, and their blind desire to serve capitalism at all costs.

Two sections of this book are worthy of special mention. The section dealing with " Social Democracy and Fascism," coming after a description of the forces within capitalism that leads to Fascism while the recital of how Fascism came to power in Italy and Germany and Austria, is a most damning indictment.

Capitalism in the post-war period pinned its faith on the stolid loyalty of Social Democracy, and albeit with a certain amount of misgivings and fear depended upon the powerful democratic parties holding the revolutionary fervour of the masses in check. They were not disappointed. As Dutt points out, the Second International was the main bulwark of capitalism, during the whole period of attempted stabilisation immediately after the war and later in the " new era " and " organised capitalism " ramp, that fascinated the leaders of labour right up to and after the outbreak of the world economic crisis.

The question of responsibility for the split in the ranks of the working class is still a vexatious and highly controversial topic. Again, Dutt applies the method of historical analysis and traces the splitting of the working class, not to tactical disagreement on the realisation of a common objective, but to the profound theoretical differences that existed for many decades more or less concealed, until the outbreak of the Imperialist war produced the crisis in the Second International and its adherent parties, and the open betrayal of the fight for socialism. Starting from this treachery, with all its chauvinist implications the rest of the story explains itself. The successful efforts of Social Democracy in Europe to crush the advancing proletarian revolution at the end of the war and subsequently; the betrayal of economic struggles and adoption of Mondism ; and later the drive against working class conditions inspired and in many cases led by Social Democracy, have all been paving stones towards the establishment of open Fascist Dictatorship abroad and are to-day the paving stones that facilitate the drive towards fascism by the National Government for the forces of utter reaction. A study of this section of

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Dutt's book alone will bring much clarity to the many sincere working-class elements that are justifiably perturbed at the policy of the Labour Party in this country, but who have not yet succeeded in dealing with its rank reactionary traditions and ideology.

Of equal importance is that part dealing with tendencies towards fascism in Western Europe and America. Here also we are given an analytical estimation of the forces at work which traces the roots of fascism into the very bones of the British bourgeoisie and their modern American brethren. Just as the breakdown of British monopoly has cut away the basis of reformism and threatens to leave the agents of bourgeois democracy high and dry, capitalism, confronted with decay and imminent collapse, seeks a new basis on which to maintain its reign of plunder and exploitation. And such a basis offers itself in the smashing of democracy the breaking up of the defensive organisations of the working class and the introduction of open Dictatorship against the workers by hired mercenary gangs drawn from the upper and middle classes.

Similarly, as Dutt shows, the basis for Fascist methods of government already exist in the U.S.A. and is itself a product of the very methods employed to extend the domination of U.S.A. high finance and in the typically American methods of dealing with strikes and unemployed demonstrations. The Roosevelt régime and the N.R.A., stripped of all their decorative verbiage, are shown to be nothing more nor less than " the transition to Fascist forms."

And then France. Here also the author treats us to a detailed examination of the forces at work and a vivid analysis of the February events.

Anyone reading this section of the book will get a picture guaranteed to dispel the myth that Fascism is peculiar to the so-called backward countries and altogether unsuited to the strongholds of " civilisation."

The work was completed before Olympia, otherwise the section dealing with the National Government and Mosley may have been extended.

Olympia has set everybody talking. The working class are justifiably indignant at the display of primitive brutality by Mosley's thugs, and even sections of the bourgeois press that urged millions to a bloody death in Flanders, and urges without compunction the use of the most vigorous methods in strikes and the agitations of the unemployed, find time and space for vivid pictures of the happenings at Olympia. But they are strangely silent or openly in approval of the real results of Olympia.

Undoubtedly Mosley has received a setback, but it would be a serious blunder in anyway to assume that even Mosley Fascism has received anything like a death blow. As Dutt shows us, Hitler suffered more setbacks and appeared in a more ludicrous rôle than ever Mosley has done so far. Yet Hitler was chosen by the German landlords and finance capitalists as the medium through which their tottering power would be temporarily safeguarded by open dictatorship and brutality.

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But the reactions to Olympia are infinitely more important. Did not the Labour Party rush into print dissociating itself with the "interrupters" and proclaiming the sanctity of "free speech"? And has not the National Government assured by the statement of the Labour Party, utilised the events of Olympia to extend the powers of the police against the working class?

All this correctly coincides with the theme that runs through Dutt's work. This theme shows that Social Democracy in every event hastens to show its undivided allegiance to capitalism, and that the openly reactionary forces, including in this country the National Government, utilise every happening to attack existing rights and introduce greater control and more open and vigilant domination.

But Olympia means much more to the workers than a foretaste of Mosley methods. It raises sharply the growing menace of fascism; develops still more doubts as to the sincerity of the Labour Party and Trade Union Bureaucracy, and stamps the National Government as a forerunner of Fascism.

The victories against Fascism subsequent to Olympia, achieved despite the extreme partiality of the police, show that the working class is no longer content to ignore the growth of fascism, and that large sections, particularly in the Trade Unions, are passing over to the aggressive struggle against Fascism.

"Fascism and Counter-Revolution" has a message, clear and distinct to all those elements, for this book is not merely an exposure and theoretical treatise. It is above all a call to action—action on the basis of the united front and under the revolutionary leadership. By a Marxist-Leninist analysis Dutt has laid bare the forces that operate against the working class within and without and from the same basis he points the way to victory against Fascism and against the whole system of capitalism which, in its period of decay, can produce nothing better than open brutality and mass murder as a solution to its own interest and problems.

The book can, without qualification, be recommended to all concerned about present-day events, but it has a particular appeal to those who have a desire to get to a thorough understanding of all that is meant by Fascism. Lastly it is of the greatest value to propagandists and active working-class fighters who in their daily work feel the necessity of having authentic facts at their elbow.

G. ALLISON.

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TWO VIEWS OF ROOSEVELT.

The Roosevelt Illusion. By Emile Burns and F. M. Roy. Martin Lawrence. 2s.

Will Roosevelt Succeed? A Study of Fascist Tendencies in America. By A. Fenner Brockway. Routledge. 6s.

THE main reflection of the reader of these two books must be that first-hand observation and able journalism are not an adequate substitute for economic comprehension.

Brockway's book has many good qualities: it is always readable, contains good anti-Capitalist propaganda and is sometimes informative as to particular aspects of the contemporary American scene. (For example, Brockway shows that the N.R.A. Codes have not, contrary even to most left-wing opinion, reduced the average weekly hours of work.)

In spite of these qualities, however, *Will Roosevelt Succeed* presents us with a fundamentally false picture of the American situation. The general impression conveyed to me, at any rate, is that Roosevelt will not succeed because he is unwilling to issue enough money, to create sufficient mass purchasing power, to enable the products of American industry to be sold. "If President Roosevelt does not equalise production and consumption—and at present there is no indication that he will—America will surely be plunged within a few years into a further economic crisis," Brockway writes (p. 231).

There are numerous passages of the same kind. But this one perhaps best illustrates the issue in question. The implication is clear that Roosevelt could, if he only would, equalise production and consumption. There are no "present indications" that he will do so—but that very phrase makes it clear that neither is it impossible that he should do so in the future.

This attitude appears to me to reveal a misapprehension as to the nature of what Roosevelt is attempting to do, as to what he has done, and as to what he can possibly do in the future. Indeed it reveals a basic misapprehension as to the nature and possibilities of the capitalist system at any time and in any place.

Short of expropriating the American Capitalist class, short, that is to say, of carrying through the revolution, it is absolutely impossible for Roosevelt to "equalise production and consumption"; to create mass purchasing power by the issue of money or by any other means. (And Brockway would agree that for Roosevelt to move even an inch in that direction is utterly unthinkable.)

This reveals that Brockway has not understood that neither Roosevelt nor anyone else can possibly solve the problems created by the private ownership and operation for profit of the means of production except by expropriation. Consequentially he has not understood that the object of all Roosevelt's measures is not to equalise production and consumption, to distribute purchasing power, or any general social objective of that sort. The object of Roosevelt's whole programme is to restore the rate of profit. This is the be all and end all of the New Deal.

Nor should we blind ourselves to the fact that by a quite unparalleled demagogy (all the more formidable if it is self-deceiving) and by a relentless ruthlessness to the American workers, Roosevelt has to a considerable extent succeeded in this object. That he has only done so by means of measures which ensure the coming of a new and even worse crisis is true. But for the moment the monopolists' sector of American industry has been made profitable again. And

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it has been done by Roosevelt, and by the sacrifice of the American workers' most vital interests.

It is this consideration which makes Brockway's final tribute to Roosevelt inexcusable. "I must not close," Brockway writes, "without adding my tribute to the many which have been paid to his (Roosevelt's) genius, sincerity, and courage."

Or again, we are told that Roosevelt has "exerted his influence moderately on the side of labour against the tendencies of General Johnson on the side of capital."

But who appointed General Johnson? Who gave Johnson the chance to work, as Brockway agrees he has done, unceasingly for American capital? General Johnson is not a fact of nature against which Roosevelt is condemned to struggle! Of course the all powerful President appointed Johnson, the henchman of Barney Barruch, and could and would dismiss him on the instant if he did not himself support Johnson's policies. To allow Roosevelt to shelter himself behind his instruments, who of course do most of the dirtiest work for him, to praise Roosevelt, to foster the American worker's belief in him, is a grave disservice to the working class. Brockway has in this particular not only fallen a victim too, but has actually encouraged the most hampering illusion of the American workers—their belief in Roosevelt.

The Roosevelt Illusion by Burns and Roy is a book of a very different kind. Its authors have evidently devoted careful study to what is happening in America and have produced the best short account of the New Deal which has yet appeared in English. Above all, they are equipped with the economic knowledge which alone makes possible a rational assessment of what has happened and what can happen.

They preface their work with three valuable chapters on the coming of the great crisis of 1929. As they show, the course of the crisis lay in the "simultaneous increase of productivity and the reduction in the quantity of labour employed." But should they not have filled in one more link in the chain of reasoning and showed how and why this process, this growth of Constant at the expense of Variable Capital, brought about a decline of the rate of profit to that critical point at which crisis occurs? Unless this is done the reader is apt to feel that something is missing in the argument.

Burns and Roy show clearly, however, that the restoration of the rate of profit is the grand objective of the American monopoly capitalists who use Roosevelt as their political executive official.

"The dominant section of United States finance capital are not Marxists," they write, "Nevertheless, they knew perfectly well that the position of the banks, even the biggest of them, was hopeless unless industry and agriculture could be got to work again at a profit, for it is only out of this profit, the Surplus Value taken from the workers by their direct employers, that interest payments can be made. . . . They saw also that the only hope of revived production at a profit was, on the one hand, the breaking down of the existing standard of wages and conditions for the working class, and on the other a sharper struggle for the markets of the world."

This is the gist of the matter. The rest of the book consists of an account of how that struggle upon two fronts has been waged: of how the standards of the American workers have been attacked and of how an attempt has been made to win back the foreign markets which were lost to America in the early years of the slump.

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Some particularly striking facts and figures are presented in the latter connection (p. 40-41). But the book is very richly documented throughout. Indeed a criticism of its presentation arises in this respect. The publishers call it " a real meaty, readable, documented piece of work." Real, meaty and documented it is. But it cannot honestly be said to be very easy reading. Its authors have attempted to pack so much into so small a space that only the closest attention will serve the reader. This is a pity, for the information which the book contains deserves to be known to the widest possible circles of the British working-class movement. Nothing could do more than the facts and arguments in this book to dispel the monstrous illusions with which the leaders of the T.U.C. covered the subject of the Roosevelt programme at the last Trades Union Congress.

JOHN STRACHEY.

WORLD COMMUNISTS IN SESSION

Reports and Decisions of the 13th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International : Theses and Decisions. 32 pp. 2d.

Fascism, The War Danger, and the Tasks of the Communist Parties. D. W. Kuusinen. pp. 120. 6d.

Revolutionary Crisis, Fascism and War. D. Z. Manuilsky. pp. 44. 3d.

The Communist Parties in the Fight for the Masses. O. Piatnitsky. pp. 100. 4d.

We are fighting for a Soviet Germany. W. Pieck. pp. 100. 4d.

Fascism, Social Democracy and the Communists. By V. Knorin. pp. 52. 3d.

Revolutionary China To-day. Wang Ming and Kan Sing. pp. 128. 6d.

—Modern Books Ltd.

THERE are two methods of approach to the problems which emerge from the facts of capitalism in decay and the existence of a society constructing socialism. One method is to copy the ostrich and bury one's head in the sand and refuse to see or hear anything which runs counter to one's wishes and hopes. The other method is to view objectively all the facts, study their inter-connection, and not shrink from drawing the necessary conclusions.

Just as the contrast between the two world systems of Capitalism and Socialism is a class contrast, so also between the ostrich method and the method of objective study of the facts is a contrast in class approach.

The workers of the world have nothing to lose but their chains, and a world to gain, while the capitalists stand to lose all that stands for power and affluence. The workers, unbefogged by the senseless desire to keep the world in a state of suspended animation do not shrink from the idea of change. It is but a step from that to setting about the task of discovering the cause of change *and taking a hand in the process.* Marxism-Leninism is the theory and practice of the working class and its Party is the Communist International.

The deliberations of the leaders of this International Party are, therefore, of enormous consequence to workers everywhere. When the apologists of capital were gloating over the death knell of Marxism and heralding a new era of capitalist prosperity and organised capital, the Communist International was preparing the revolutionary workers for the crash which came in 1929, and during the period since has correctly forecast the course of the crisis. At the 13th Plenum of the Communist International (the Reports and Decisions of which,

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as set out above, form the subject of this review), the conclusion was drawn that at any moment the economic crisis might pass over to a revolutionary crisis. Its deliberations cannot be ignored.

The growth and influence of the Communist International throughout the world make it a force to be reckoned with and its findings are of profound importance to every revolutionary worker. In particular a whole series of events throughout the world since the Plenum was held in December last have supplied confirmation after confirmation of the analysis it gave and the conclusions it came to. Mention need only be made of the still further growth of the strength and influence of the Chinese Soviets ; of the heroic armed resistance of the Austrian workers ; of the February events in France ; of the signs of the disintegration of German Fascism ; and above all of the tremendously increasing menace of the outbreak of another world war.

Comrade Kuusinen made the main report. He set out to prove the thesis that the economic crisis may " at any moment " undergo a transformation into a political crisis. Not a single capitalist country has extricated itself from the clutches of the economic crisis. Throughout the capitalist world there is almost a complete absence of new capital investments and a further decline in world trade. Owing to the absence of demand the world's stock of raw materials have not diminished. Inflation has affected 52 capitalist countries.

Kuusinen draws attention to the evidences, however, of increased industrial output. These facts must be explained : " We cannot brush aside stubborn facts, the more so that very often they prove to be cleverer than we are." How different is this approach from that of capitalist apologists !

The reasons given are : The increase in armament industries ; the measures adopted by the financial oligarchy, and the Governments of the important capitalist countries (currency, depreciation, tariffs, &c.) ; and the transfer of the burden of the crisis to the shoulders of the workers.

The main conclusions arrived at are : First, now that capitalist stabilisation has come to an end, the unevenness has greatly accentuated ; second, the measures adopted by the capitalists to overcome the crisis " support the capitalist system in the same way as the rope supports one who has been hanged " ; third, while formerly the decay of capitalism deeply undermined its foundations, at the present time these foundations are being destroyed ; fourth, this does not lead to the automatic collapse of capitalism, but to the transformation of the economic crisis into a revolutionary crisis.

The final section is devoted to the class battles of the workers and the tasks of the communists. These include : the struggle against fascist ideology, against social-democracy and a united front with the masses of workers. It raises as the principal slogan of the Communist International—For a Soviet Government.

The Thesis which Comrade Kuusinen introduced characterises the present situation as one in which :

> The bourgeoisie is furiously intensifying its economic means of exploitation by methods of fascist violence, by robbing the toiling classes, predatory wars against other nations. But at the same time the revolutionary indignation of the toiling masses and their readiness to overthrow the intolerable yoke of the exploiting classes is growing more and more. . . . . The objective prerequisites for a revolutionary crisis has matured to such an extent that at the present time the world is closely approaching a new round of revolutions and wars.

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Most important is Comrade Pieck's discussion of the new methods of class struggle under conditions of fascist terror, *e.g.*, utilising the legal possibilities within the fascist organisations to put forward the workers' demands. The number of strikes initiated in this way is amazing. He shows further how these possibilities have been utilised to develop open forms of mass struggle.

All those who wish to understand what is happening in China will get a comprehensive picture from the reports of Comrades Wang Ming and Kan Sing. They place before us this vast territory as "an arena of revolution, war and intervention," and from their analysis present the tasks of the Chinese Communists. Soviet China is graphically described and we get an authoritative account of the achievements of the Chinese Soviets in the field of political administration, economic policy, public education, emancipation of women, &c.

"The Communist Parties expect from this Plenum an answer to the question of what constitutes the present stage of world development," says Manuilsky. He proceeds to analyse the new factors in the development of the crisis: a certain economic revival; intertwining of the World Economic Crisis with the General Crisis; the ever more "political" growth of the crisis; the attempt of the capitalists to rescue their system; the more rapidly maturing of the elements of Fascism than the elements of revolutionary crisis; the creation of a "pre-war" atmosphere.

Comrade Knorin contrasts the false prophecies of the capitalists with the predictions of the Communist International, and proceeds to discuss the question of the fascisation of the capitalist state. "But despite the fact that terror has become the common method of government employed by the bourgeois, nevertheless, it has not succeeded in consolidating its rule. This is why the financial oligarchy is trying still further to strengthen the state apparatus, to create a state power the aim of which is to overcome the internal contradictions of the capitalist system by means of terror . . . ." The present wave of terror is not a sign of strength, but a sign of weakness. Comrade Knorin explains why the Fascist dictatorship wiped out Social Democracy. "Hitler came to power in a country . . . in which it is impossible to strengthen central leadership without smashing up the old bourgeois Parties."

Comrade Piatnitsky, in his speech takes up the question of the Communist Parties in the fight for the masses. He starts from the question of the rôle of the Communist Party.

For this purpose he recalled the very full definition as laid down in the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International as to what is necessary before a Communist Party can really be entitled to be called a fully Bolshevik Communist Party. As he pointed out, none of the Communist Parties outside of Soviet Russia are able as yet to fulfil *all* these conditions, though in a number of countries (China, Germany, Poland), the Communist Parties have come close to such a standard during this period.

These pamphlets provide a wealth of valuable materials for those who wish to understand the present world situation and the tasks which face the revolutionary movement in this period. No active worker can afford to neglect these valuable contributions to the tasks of the Labour Movement.

B. W.

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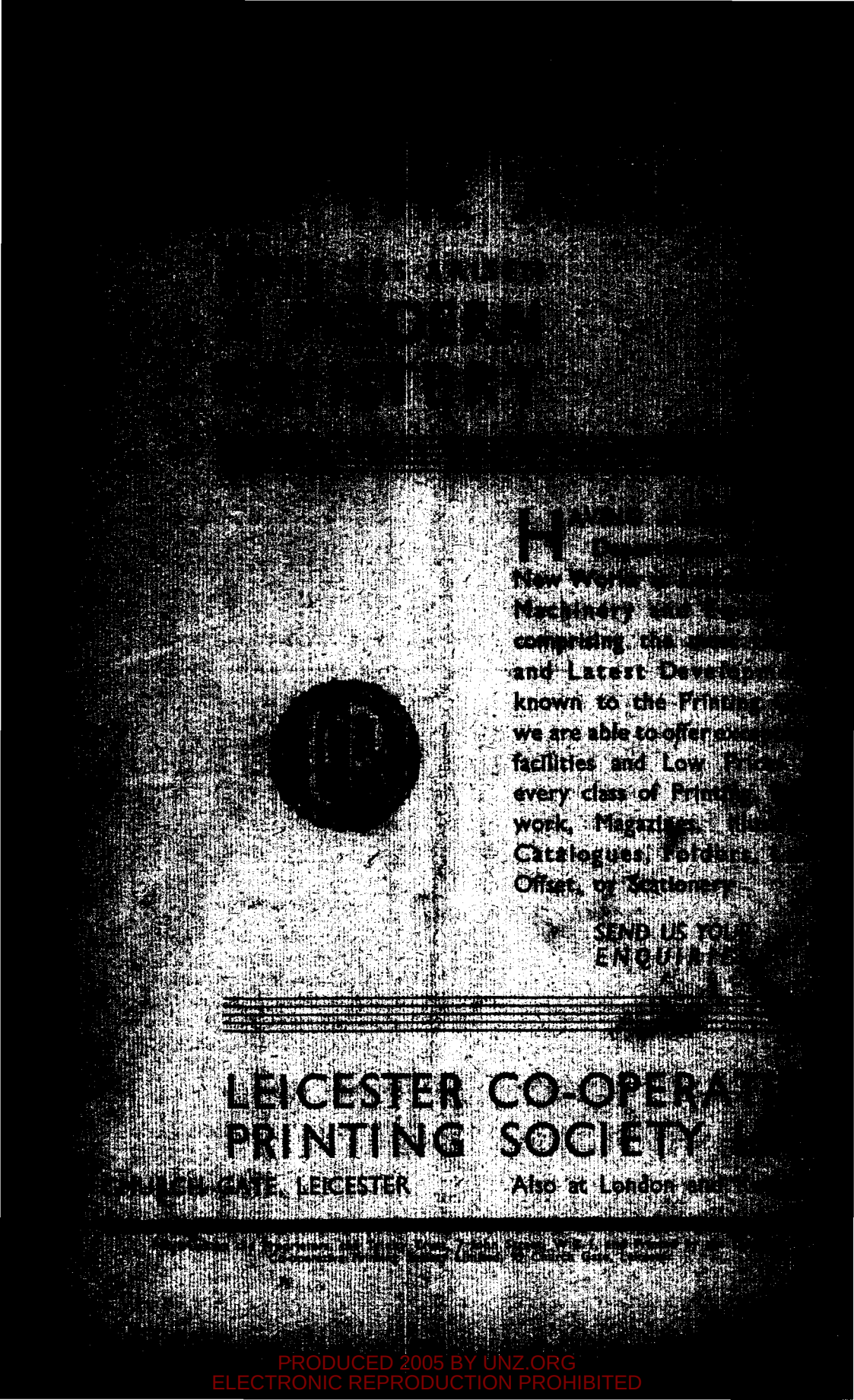

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